

# THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

## ONE TAX ENOUGH.

One of the favorite arguments of wise men against the single tax is founded upon the assumption that the annual value of land alone is not large enough to pay all existing taxes. This assumption was first brought forward to serve as an argument in England, with an air of triumph, which has seduced American philosophers into reliance upon the same theory. It was asserted, with the utmost confidence, that the whole rental of Great Britain would not suffice, within many millions of pounds, to pay the existing annual taxes, national and local. This assertion was supported by a bristling array of figures, not in round numbers, but with an impressive detail, implying absolute accuracy. We need not imitate this accuracy, but may concede that the average British taxes for several years past (excluding, of course, postal and telegraph revenues, etc.) have amounted to about £100,000,000 sterling, of which about £25,000,000 were local taxes. Mr. Mallock ("Property and Progress," p. 214) calls the total rental of land in Great Britain and Ireland £99,000,000. Assuming his figures to be correct, it would seem clear that the single tax on rent would exhaust all the rent and still fall short of the public needs by a million pounds per annum.

Space would fail to enumerate all the professors, doctors of philosophy, editors and essayists, who have followed the same line of argument in America, and have triumphantly demonstrated, to their own satisfaction, that American ground rents could never suffice to meet the necessary burdens of taxation. One example will suffice for all; and a quotation from Mr. Edward Atkinson's article, in the February Forum, will cover all that has been said by any one on that side. He says:

It is also probably an error to suppose that the present rental value of land, taken by itself, including that somewhat indefinite factor, the so-called "unearned increment," even if it could all be converted to public use in payment of taxes, would suffice to meet the necessary expenses of government even for state, city and town purposes. For several years the assessors of the city of Boston, where the present valuation of land is very high, have kept the valuation of land for the purpose of taxation separate from that of buildings and personal property. The valuation of the city for the year 1888 was \$764,000,000, on which a tax is to be assessed of \$10,000,000 for city, county and state purposes, at the rate of \$13.50 on each \$1,000 worth of property. Land and buildings are assessed nearly if not quite up to the market value. Personal property is reached by the assessors of the city of Boston in larger measure than in any other city in the country. At the average of recent years, the value of land is \$333,000,000; of buildings and improvements, \$230,000,000; of personal property, \$201,000,000. In order to raise \$10,000,000 revenue the tax upon the whole must be \$13.50 on each \$1,000. If the assessment were made upon real estate, including land and buildings, the rate would be \$17.75; or, making allowance for abatements, \$18.50. If assessed on land value only, the assessment would be a little over \$33, allowing for abatements about \$35, on each \$1,000. It is doubtful if the rental now obtained by the owners of all the land of

Boston would more than meet the \$10,000,000 expenses of the state and city, omitting wholly the amount required by the nation. It must be remembered that our national taxes amount to a sum as large, if not larger, than all the state, county, city and town taxes combined.

A close examination of all figures of this kind would disclose a great undervaluation of land, arising from the uniform tendency of assessors to rate vacant land, held for speculative purposes, much lower than occupied land having precisely similar market value. But we should be so grateful to our opponents for condescending to drop into figures of any kind as to accept their statistics without troublesome criticism. For these figures, unjust as they are to the single tax theory, nevertheless fully suffice to crush the argument which they are brought forward to support.

In computing the rent of land, for the purpose of economic science, we must always add to the rent actually received by the landlord the full amount of taxes which are levied upon the land. That is the sum which would be available for taxation, under the system of taxing land values.

The proportion of British taxes which falls upon the land was officially stated in 1868 at £28,000,000 sterling, and is certainly no less now. Tithes, which also fall upon rent, amount to £4,000,000. Thus we must add £32,000,000 to the annual rental of £99,000,000, stated by Mr. Mallock, making £131,000,000 in all, against an annual taxation of £100,000,000, leaving a surplus of rent over all taxation of £31,000,000 per annum.

The people of Great Britain and Ireland, therefore, if they should levy all existing taxes upon their landlords, but no more, would still leave these landlords in possession of an income of at least \$150,000,000 a year, a sum sufficient, in all probability, to induce them to remain at home and kindly attend to the collection of their trifling rents.

Mr. Atkinson's statistical problem is much more easily disposed of. His figures may be accepted unconditionally; although they almost certainly understate the value of the bare land. See what follows from them.

It may be assumed with certainty that the assessors' estimate of value is based upon the theory that the land will rent for at least five per cent net on that value. The annual rental value of mere land in Boston is, therefore, at least five per cent on \$333,000,000, or \$16,650,000. The tax is now \$13.50 per \$1,000, or \$4,500,000 on the land alone. Thus the rent which the land actually brings is \$21,150,000 per annum. This is the basis upon which the single tax would be levied.

The present amount of taxation in Boston is, we are told, \$10,000,000 per annum, and Mr. Atkinson estimates the national taxes at as much more. But here he makes a serious mistake. The national taxes are, it is true, equal to all the state and municipal taxes combined; but cities are subject to heavy local burdens, which make their share of local taxation vastly greater than their share of national taxation could be. Even at the present wasteful rate of public expenditure, a direct tax of \$300,000,000 would suffice to cover all the wants of the federal government. Apportioned according to population, as the constitution requires, Boston's share would be a trifle over \$7 in the \$1,000, or \$2,100,000. Apportioned according to property, Boston's share of the federal taxes might possibly reach \$5,000,000. If the single tax should be adopted, without any change in the federal constitution, Boston landowners would pay, for all taxes, local and national, only \$12,000,000, out of their present rental of \$21,000,000; leav-

ing them in possession of the comfortable surplus of \$9,000,000. But if the constitution should be amended, as it ought to be, so as to apportion taxes according to wealth, instead of population, Boston landlords could still pay all the Boston taxes and retain a surplus of \$6,000,000 per annum. This would keep the wolf from their doors, and enable them to respond to any special call which the nation might have to make upon them, in time of war or other disaster.

Thus far it has been assumed that the figures of the Boston assessors, upon which Mr. Atkinson relies, correctly represent the market value of all the property covered by them. As already pointed out, this is far too great a concession; but still it is not at all necessary to retract it. Mr. Atkinson's figures show upon their face that he has omitted from the estimate of land values in Boston some items of immense importance. Where are railroads, telegraphs and telephones? We may be perfectly certain that not one dollar has been estimated, under the name of "land," for the value of the privileges over land conferred by the state upon telegraphs, telephones and horse railroads, and not one dollar in ten for the real value of the privileges of steam railroads running into the city. No doubt the Boston assessors would be astonished at the suggestion that all these franchises come within the legal definition of land; but they certainly do, not only within the meaning of the advocates of the single tax, but also within the plain terms of the decision of the New York court of appeals in the elevated railroad tax case. That court very properly decided that a railroad built in the air occupied land, just as truly as if it had been laid on or underneath the surface of the ground. Applying this perfectly sound principle to the railroad and telegraph franchises within the limits of Boston, there can be no doubt that the land values appertaining to these franchises would be eagerly bid for at \$3,000,000 per annum, and that more than nine-tenths of this sum is entirely overlooked by Mr. Atkinson, as well as by the assessors upon whose authority he relies for the value of Boston land. Upon this basis, the annual value of all privileges upon land alone, in Boston (in other words, the economic rent of Boston) amounts to \$24,000,000 per annum. If the federal taxes were apportioned, as they would be under the present constitution, according to population, all the taxes, national, state and local, collected in Boston, would amount to \$12,000,000. If such taxes were apportioned according to land values, they would amount to not more than \$16,000,000, leaving, in the former case, \$12,000,000, but in the latter case \$8,000,000 per annum, as a comfortable margin, in the city of Boston alone, either for the profit of its landlords or for new taxation, so far as might be needed, to meet increased expenses of government.

This admirable object lesson, so kindly furnished by Mr. Atkinson, proves that the single tax would not take more, at the utmost, than two-thirds of economic rent to defray all the expenses of all our governments, unless it should be purposefully increased, in order to absorb the whole; a contingency not at all likely to occur, for many years after the adoption of the system, if ever. Meanwhile, the landlords themselves would gain great benefits from the new system; because it would release all their personal property and improvements from taxation; and most of them own as much of these things as they own of land.

I observe that a bureau of correspondence has been founded, the members of which are to write congratulatory letters to any one who publishes anything tend-

ing to assist the cause of the single tax. I sincerely recommend all these members to write at once to Mr. Atkinson, thanking him for the great service which he has rendered to the cause, by his attempt to criticise it in the Forum. Like the ancient prophet, it may well be said to him by the modern Balaks: "I called thee to curse mine enemies; and lo! thou hast blessed them altogether."

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

## "THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY."

The literary editor of the New York Times, in a recent review of the new English translation of "Capital," by Karl Marx, commends the service rendered by the great German writer in his bold attack on the received economic doctrine, and says that the blows thus "given to the old political economy, whose distinctive thought is the rights of property, have done much toward clearing the way for the new political economy, whose distinctive thought is the duties of property." It is, of course, difficult to say just what a man means by "the new political economy," but I know of no system deserving the name except the doctrines of Henry George, as expounded in "Progress and Poverty." The Times writer certainly had these doctrines in his mind, for after alluding to Marx's assumption that the "iron law of wages" is inseparable from any wage system, he says: "For the most brilliant demonstration of the falsity of this 'iron law of wages' we are indebted to an American who is often accused of being a socialist—Mr. Henry George." Furthermore, his clear recognition of the essential difference between what is sometimes called "Georgeism" and state socialism shows that the Times writer has made a closer study of "Progress and Poverty" than has been attempted by most of those who criticise that work.

If, however, the Times's writer does refer to the doctrines of Henry George as "The New Political Economy," he is mistaken in declaring that its distinctive thought is the "duties of property." The distinguishing feature of "Progress and Poverty" is its directness and accuracy of statement. It discards fiction, and goes straight to the very heart of the actual fact in every instance. It does not, for an instant, accept the absurd and confusing assumption that property is a sentient being capable of claiming rights and performing duties. It recognizes wealth as the result of the application of human labor to natural opportunities, and institutes a simple and direct inquiry into the rightful ownership of existing wealth. It next proceeds to a careful consideration of the conditions best adapted to insuring the generous production and equitable distribution of wealth in the future. It brushes aside all legal and other fictions that complicate or confuse the inquiry, and, going back to first principles and natural conditions, it gives to the riddle of the ages an answer so simple that, because of its simplicity, the old school economists and the pupils of Karl Marx alike reject it. This is "The New Political Economy" and its distinctive thought is not "the duties of property" but "the rights of men."

And yet its simple statement of truth, which but repeats, in the fulness of their meaning, the noblest phrases of our Declaration of Independence, is the sufficient answer to the problem with which the old political economy has wrestled in vain for more than a century. The earth is rich enough to support in comfort the whole human race if all who are willing to work are given access to the store house of nature. How to secure such access continuously for the future is a vastly more important question than any relating to the processes by which man-

kind got its affairs into the wretched tangle in which we find them. If we can give a free, intelligent and industrious people continuous opportunity to apply their labor to those natural resources from which alone wealth can be drawn we shall have solved the "labor problem," or "social question" so completely that unnatural inequalities will disappear without the aid of special legislation, and the bitterness of the present contest will be forgotten. "The New Political Economy" proposes to accomplish this simply by the recognition of obvious justice.

Having seen that wealth can only be created by the application of labor to that storehouse of nature, which it calls land, it next proceeds to ascertain to whom labor naturally belongs and to whom land naturally belongs. It thereupon acknowledges the right of labor to its own product, and awards to the community rent—the price paid by individuals for access to the more desirable land. So far from denying the rights of property, "the New Political Economy" may justly claim that it, for the first time, draws precisely and unmistakably the line between meum and tuum. It demands for each individual the full product of his individual efforts applied to his exact share of the natural opportunities belonging equally to him and to all others. It denies to each and every individual, unless he shall obtain it by free and fair exchange, any right whatever to the wealth created by others, either as individuals or through their conscious or unconscious common effort.

Having thus clearly laid down its principles it proposes to apply them by a process as simple and easy of comprehension as the principles themselves. By means of the single tax it would restore to the common treasury the rent charged individuals for the use of the common property, too long seized and enjoyed by a few. By the same simple expedient it would restore to all their equal right of access to natural opportunities, not forcibly or suddenly, but gradually, by removing all of those inducements that now lead men to seize and hold out of use such opportunities. There is nothing complicated about this. If the annual increase in land values is to be annually taken for public use by the tax collector, no man can make a profit by holding land out of use. On the contrary, he would lose money by doing so. Under these circumstances no man will want more land than he can well and profitably use, and, since there is enough for all, no man will lack as much land as he really needs. Meanwhile, individuals having ceased to appropriate to themselves the revenues belonging to the people as a whole, the community, enjoying its own, will cease to seize the property of individuals, and the whole cumbersome and unjust system of taxing labor and its products must, of necessity, fall to the ground.

This is the whole of it. "The New Political Economy" does not seek to establish any cumbersome system of law on law and regulation on regulation. Its method is the repeal of old statutes rather than the enactment of new ones. It does not seek to establish a new social system, but rather to conform the existing system to natural law. In demanding that the people shall take through their government for common use those values that they create by their common effort, it also demands that the community shall live within its means and be satisfied with its own and cease to thrust its hands into the pockets of individuals to take from them the products of their labor. It means equal justice, and it actually makes taxation, so long the weapon of tyranny and means of spoliation, the instrument for drawing the true line between that which of right belongs to the individual and that which of right belongs to all.

But in thus demanding equal and exact justice, "The New Political Economy" does not tend to exalt the community at the expense of the individual, nor to regard a human being as a mere cog in a vast machine called society. It is rather

disposed to reassert, with increased emphasis and fuller meaning, the natural and inalienable right of each individual to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." So far from necessarily tending toward a vast increase of those powers that are, properly speaking, governmental powers, it offers rather the hope of their reduction beyond even Jefferson's dream—to a mere police power enforcing the single law, "thou shalt not steal."

It is true, that in contemplating the abuses that have grown up through farming out governmental powers to corporations that use them to promote the enrichment of individuals, it has seemed to some advocates of "The New Political Economy" that it may be necessary to make organized government the agency for carrying on some species of business that can now only be carried on by its aid and through the use of public property. That the present system straddles in a most confusing way the line that divides individual rights from public rights is clear, and it must be amended. No number of citizens less than all should be armed with such tremendous powers as the right of eminent domain or the taxing power, and yet without the exercise of one or both these powers railways, telegraph lines, water works, gas works, banks of issue, and perhaps a few other public enterprises, cannot be established and maintained. Precisely how the present vicious system of farming out governmental powers to a fraction of the people for these purposes can be stopped without requiring the government to take complete control of such enterprises is not yet clear, though, so far as railways are concerned, it is quite possible that a return to the old system of public control of the people's highways might be brought about without necessarily involving governmental operation of the roads. Such questions, however, are purely questions of convenience. The necessity for some exercise of governmental power in order that such institutions shall exist being granted by all, the question of the extent of that exercise is a matter of detail and not of principle. No argument can be made against the governmental control of public works that would not be even more effective against the maintenance of post offices and public schools. If it pleases men to call such a system "socialism" then those indulging the fancy must confess that all civilized peoples are irretrievably committed to socialism.

But the word used in this sense has a very different meaning from the same word when used by the disciples of Karl Marx. As used by the latter, it means, with more or less distinctness, the deliberate subordination of the individual to the mass, and the construction of a vast machine for the purpose of collectively carrying on the most important branches of production. This is not only not in accord with the basic idea of "The New Political Economy," but diametrically opposed to it. State socialism laughs to scorn the title of the individual, as against society, to whatsoever he may produce; and it would not tolerate the argument that the many have no moral right to take for their own benefit that which the individual has produced by his own labor under just conditions of access to natural opportunities. However pure its motives, however noble its aims, it is folly to pretend that state socialism does not directly antagonize that spirit of individualism, or personal liberty, which animated the utterances of Jefferson and Paine, and which finds its extreme expression to-day in philosophic anarchy.

But though "The New Political Economy" rejects state socialism, it does not therefore attempt to put bounds on the possibilities of co-operative and associated effort in the future. Just as the right to life involves the right of access to the opportunities to earn a living, so does the right to liberty involve the right to voluntary association. No man can predict and no imagination can picture the possibilities of free association and intelligent co-operation by a race of men, free indeed, and occupying the fairest and richest portion of the earth's surface, at a period when invention and discovery seem

but fairly to have begun. "The New Political Economy" has, however, no need to call prophecy or imagination to its aid. It deals with facts. It points out the laws of production and distribution and plants itself firmly on natural rights of property, obvious to every unperverted mind. It is at once common sense and sound ethics. It clearly indicates the source of existing evils and points out the remedy. Its demand is first truth, and then justice. This demand once complied with, it can safely leave to the imagination of its votaries the painting of the picture of the possible future of our race. It can safely trust emancipated men and women, blest with the comfort and security that will then be within the reach of all, to manage their own affairs without the advice or direction of the generation that now lives enslaved by ignorance and greed under conditions that professedly learned men have defended as inevitable, or even desirable, and sought to formulate into a "dismal science" which, when it takes its place in the lumber room of the past, will be labeled "The Old Political Economy." WM. T. CROASDALE.

#### TO TRADES UNIONS, FROM A UNION OFFICER.

The success of Mr. George's lecture under the auspices of the printers of Boston has encouraged me to believe that a good deal might be done for the cause of the single tax by trades unionists working among men of their own trades by means of public meetings. I understand that the course of lectures in Boston of which Mr. George's was one is being conducted by a committee appointed by the typographical union. I would not go so far as to ask the trades unions to stand responsible for the expenses of a lecture course, nor would I care to inflict upon the members of a union a so-called educational course embracing expositions of the various means which have been proposed to improve the condition of the workers. But I would like to see members of unions who believe in the single tax do something to cause an agitation of the doctrine among their fellow members.

Here in New York, the various branches of the printing business give employment to many thousand workers. There are about four thousand compositors, and when the pressmen, feeders, stereotypers, type founders and book binders are added, we have a very large body of men in a business the different parts of which have a close relation to one another. My idea would be to form some kind of an association of single tax men from all these branches of the trade—neither a political body nor a union, but a loose organization for the purpose of bringing members and their fellow workers together to talk over the single tax and have it explained by competent speakers. The workingman is just now very shy of the labor politician. If, however, workingmen are not asked to join a political organization, but are invited to do nothing more than to come to a meeting and hear what is the single tax remedy for all working people's wrongs, and ask questions about it if they wish to, they must be very shy, indeed, if they refuse to attend.

The men who are accustomed to talk at union meetings and perform committee work for their unions are generally known in every branch of their trade. In the printing business such men are usually of good character and they do not part with their reputations easily. A series of meetings held under the management of such well known men would attract attention not only in our trade but in many others in New York and elsewhere.

The attitude to be taken by such a committee would by no means be that of antagonism to the trades union. It would be, that a trades union is a means of increasing wages on some occasions and preventing them from falling on others, but that as workingmen and citizens they see something else, some other means, by which wages can be permanently increased. The unemployed man is the one

who sets the scale of wages in all trades, and we single tax men know how to give the unemployed man work. Moreover we know how, as consumers, we would profit were the taxes taken off the things we eat and wear.

I think it would have a greater effect to hold meetings of fellow tradesmen to discuss the single tax than to make them general meetings for all workingmen. People in the same business understand one another better, and as I have said, know one another better, than men can who work at different callings. If I hear a man in my trade talk on a public question I know pretty nearly what value to put on his words. The speaker, also, feels freer and can speak with greater force and employ better illustrations, when talking to men using the same tools and knowing the same technical language as himself, than when speaking to strangers. In the printing business the men who hold single tax views will command the respect of the trade.

I have no hope that such meetings will fill large halls or make a great show of the number of printers holding single tax views. There is much in the state of things in the printing business against counting on such results. For example, if a meeting is to be held in the evening, but few of the morning newspaper men, who in all number several thousand, could attend, as they work at night. If in the day time, the book trade and evening newspapers could not send many members. If on Sunday, men then want a holiday, and, besides, those active in union work, or in benefit societies and the like, may be kept away by other meetings.

This leads me to say, that it is not fair to assume, as is sometimes done, that workingmen do not take an interest in public matters. What time have they to do so? The man who is at work at 7 o'clock in the morning and stops at 6 in the evening, and then takes up a Sunday or two or even three in a month in connection with societies through which he hopes to keep up his wages or turn in a few dollars in case of sickness or death—is he in a position to take hold of a reform and push it before the public? The best he can do generally is to gain somehow the right ideas and spread them among the men who work with him. Unfortunately, however, there are always men enough out of work to swell the crowd somewhat at meetings.

What I do hope for is to excite an interest in the single tax in each trade and to have men qualify themselves to answer the questions that are now being asked about it from day to day wherever workingmen find themselves together. From the stage of understanding the single tax members of a union could go on and try to have the idea embodied in the scheme of their union. Recognizing the good that does undoubtedly flow from their union, they could also affirm in its constitution that the single tax would so greatly improve conditions generally that it would be their duty to promote its cause through the union. I have been convinced of this myself, and I believe it is possible to convince also our fellow trades unionists by constantly placing before them the truth of the single tax.

I believe that enthusiasm for our ideas could soon be spread through local trades unions. If successful in New York, meetings of the same kind could be promoted elsewhere in the country.

EVERETT GLACKIN.

#### The Celestials' Petition.

Chicago Leader.

To this Senate of this United States We, residents of the city of Chicago, allee samee likee Mellican man, send our elongatulations to your excellencies, and our players that you will glantee to Chinaman allee samee blountee to slugar mance and tooth pullees. Chinaman washee washee vely munees shirtee, and makee Mellican man heap clean. Chinaman wantee allee samee plotection likee Mellican man. Plotection makee Mellican man heap richee, Chinaman wantee get richee. Chinaman no care if he gettee blountee, tlaw or dlawbackee, like Lonamakee, allee samee clack comee.

AH SING, YU SAY,  
BILLY MAY, SONG SING,  
JOHN FARW, ELL SONG.

And heapee more allee samee.

## HENRY GEORGE IN ENGLAND.

## The Single Tax Campaign There Attracting Great Attention.

The following cablegrams received by the daily press speak for themselves:  
New York Telegram.

LONDON, March 18.—The certainty that the land theories of Henry George are attracting widespread attention in England just now and are being studied to an extent hitherto past belief is abundantly manifested by the fact that the gentleman is being courted, fêted and consulted to a degree that would turn the head of a man of less perfect mental balance. Since his arrival here Mr. George has been sought out by men who a few years ago would have felt ashamed to incur the suspicion that they had ever wasted sufficient time to read his book, not to speak of giving serious consideration to his ideas, and there is a well founded suspicion abroad that several of the leading members of the new London county council have a decided leaning toward the practical application of his theories to the future disposition of municipal lands.

Another unmistakable proof of the hold which Mr. George has secured upon the popular mind is furnished by the fact that the Times has deemed it necessary to denounce two members of parliament who dared to signify by their presence at a reception to Mr. George by the radical clubs Saturday evening, at least their appreciation of his exceptional abilities.

It will be remembered that when Mr. George's "Progress and Poverty" was published in its first edition, the Times complimented the author by reviewing the work to the extent of a page. Upon this occasion the paper remarked that, although it was forced to dissent from the doctrines laid down by the writer, it was impelled to admit that the work was one of the most important of the century, adding that upon some future occasion Mr. George would have to be "reckoned with."

Manifestly the Times has reached the belief that the time has arrived when Mr. George should be "reckoned with," and the suspicion is abroad that the paper's present attitude in the matter indicates that the conservatives are becoming alarmed at the growth of the single tax apostle's popularity in England, and are preparing to counteract it by disciplining such public men as exhibit the courage of their convictions by extending the hand of welcome to men who prefer seeing things as they are to looking at them through the refracted lens of torism.

## The Two M. P.'s the "Times" Names.

LONDON, March 18.—The Times attacks Messrs. Cremer and Clark, radical members of parliament, for joining with the radical clubs in the welcome to Henry George on Saturday. The Times says: "Mr. George's doctrines come as near spoliation as anything that has been proposed by a man with a character to lose since the French revolution. Men like Mr. Cremer wish to apply the operations of the Irish leaguers to England, Scotland and Wales."

## In Rev. Stopford Brooke's Pulpit.

LONDON, March 16.—Mr. Henry George has been making land tax speeches all the week, principally under the auspices of the London preachers. To-morrow (Sunday) he occupies the pulpit of the Rev. Stopford Brooke, which has never before been filled by an itinerant layman.

## A Big Meeting at Camberwell.

LONDON, March 13.—Henry George delivered a lecture at Camberwell to-night before a large and extremely enthusiastic audience. His hearers plied him with questions, all of which were manifestly answered satisfactorily. It is noticeable that each of Mr. George's successive visits to England is attended by a large increase of interest in his theories.

## A Significant Victory in England.

The fierce struggle for the parliamentary representation of Kennington, an important district of London, has just ended in the election of the liberal Beaufoy over the tory Boreford-Hope by the good majority of 630 in a total vote of 7,500. Beaufoy is pledged to the taxation of ground rents, and holds other radical views. He said after the election, that in his opinion no liberal success is possible in London unless a strong line of social questions is tackled on to home rule. This district has returned a tory for the past two elections by a pronounced majority, and this year the conservatives exerted themselves to the utmost, titled aristocrats even lending their carriages to carry tory voters to the polls.

## In a Nutshell.

The democratic party is committed to a free trade policy, and is opposed to the reduction or abolition of the internal revenue.

## Two Ripe Cases.

Henry George thinks that the times are ripe for his appearance in England. The times were certainly ripe for his departure from the United States.

## WHAT THE NEWSPAPERS SAY.

Henry George is safely on the other side once more. It would be a thoroughly agreeable thing to the American people if arrangements could be made for him to stay there. His land heresies are working incalculable injuries.—Newport, R. I., Observer.

Henry George is in big luck in England. The London Times is jumping on him with all four of its feet.—[New York Press.

Henry George seems to be making a great stir in England. Henry should beware. The kinship between strabot and soup is perilously close.—[New York World.

Another subject, of rapidly growing interest, is that of the single tax. A set debate on this theme would be extremely interesting, if honorable senators would previously take the pains to read up on the question.—St. Louis Western Building Association Journal.

It is suggested that Oklahoma be opened to settlement on Henry George's plan. If the single tax scheme works well there it might find favor in other new localities under a sort of local option law permitting communities to try it.—Cincinnati Evening Post.

It is only a question of time when Henry George's principles will make a telling ten-strike that will do away with the devilry of taxation that now prevails.—St. Louis New Order.

It is a good protection theory that if you want to discourage anything tax it. We want to discourage land speculation.—Tilford, Dak., Times.

Henry George is in England again, whooping things up for his single tax on land values, and seems to be creating a great deal of enthusiasm. If he could manage to make the Irish landlords tremble along with their English brethren, perhaps they would give Balfour a hint to let up on the poor peasantry.—[Boston Globe.

The reported gold discoveries in Lower California. As speculators have lately secured possession of vast tracts of the almost worthless lands there, it may be suspected that the men who don't dig for gold will have the most of it.—St. Paul Globe.

The best piece of land God ever made, a thousand miles from any community, is absolutely worthless. But let people gather in around that land and it becomes valuable, although its "owner" should never expend a particle of labor upon it.—Tilford, Dak., Times.

We know but one means whereby men who earn their living by the sweat of the brow—and they are in the majority in Canada—can have their remuneration increased by the agency of the government, and that is by taking off the taxes on necessities of life which press so heavily upon them.—Hamilton, Ont., Times.

Let no farmer or laborer be deceived by denunciations of the single tax; for they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by its adoption. It is fast growing in favor all over the east, and it will be the burning issue in politics in less than ten years.—Portland, Ore., Pacific Farmer.

Henry George is in London. He took his single tax idea with him and expects to place large blocks of it in English craniums. If there is any people on the globe's face that has cause to accept Mr. George's plan it is the British. The progress of his work on the other side will be watched with considerable interest by a large number of Americans upon whom the single tax theory seems to have taken a firm hold.—[Chicago Mail.

## Concert of the Munier Vocal Union.

The first public concert of the Munier Vocal Union will be given in Chickering hall on Monday evening, March 25. This musical society is directed and managed by Mrs. Agatha Munier-Atkins, formerly directress of the Concordia chorus, which worked so zealously in the single tax cause a year or so ago, and it is to be hoped that a goodly number of those identified with the same cause will, by their attendance, help to make the concert a success. The Union has had long and careful training under its most competent leader, and should give an enjoyable entertainment.

## Something to Do.

The letter writing corps has now some hundreds of members. For information concerning its proposed work, address

J. W. SULLIVAN,  
STANDARD Office, New York.

## American Labor is "Protected" and Pauper Labor Employed.

Cleveland Plain Dealer.  
It is worthy of remark that not one of the fragments of the exploded boiler at the Cleveland rolling mills a few days ago struck an American.

## Let the Democrats Hope So.

New York Star.  
If the Tribune doesn't look out the Star will become General Harrison's personal organ. It has long been shaping its course toward the republican party.

## Good Protection Doctrine.

Brooklyn Citizen.  
The coal barons of Pennsylvania compel the miners to pay \$3 a keg for powder, although the market price is only \$1.50.

## He Was Kuffed by Dumb Democrats.

New York Sun.  
And probably Cleveland will not forget that he was not re-elected by democratic votes.

## SIGNS OF PROGRESS IN ENGLAND.

## Remarkable Resolutions at the Meeting of the South Wales Liberal Association—A Revolt at St. Kilda—The English Knights of Labor Stand Squarely on the Single Tax—An Exposition of their Principles.

DUDLEY, Birmingham, England.—It is difficult to keep pace with the developments of opinion in this country, but it would really seem as if the principles of "Progress and Poverty" were likely to push aside all half measures. It will be remembered that Mr. George remarked to the audience which welcomed him home to New York but a short time ago, that the principle of the taxation of land values would enter the sphere of practical politics in England through the discussions which would be certain to arise on the question of the taxation of ground rents. It is remarkable that the first public association of the two things in connection with a liberal association should have occurred in Wales. In Birmingham, on the occasion of the annual meeting of the National federation of liberal associations, the taxation of ground rents was adopted as a plank in the liberal platform. At Swansea, on February 18, the annual meeting of the council of the South Wales liberal federation was held, and one of the resolutions passed called for legislation on the taxation of "ground rents and values and mineral royalties." The resolution dealing with these questions was seconded by W. Pritchard Morgan, M. P. This gentleman does not appear to have quite seen the cat, but he said it was very unsatisfactory to find that the development of the mineral wealth of the mountains of Wales was retarded by the taxing, not of the profits that were made by the owners of a mine, but of the gross products of those who worked it. Personally, he declared he could influence immense capital to work the mineral resources of South Wales if he only had fair play, but they did not get it, owing to the great difficulties that were being constantly thrust in the way. He would, however, bring the subject of royalties and the development of the waste crown lands of Wales before parliament, and claimed the support of his Welsh parliamentary colleagues in developing the resources of the country.

This sort of speaking is becoming increasingly common. There were about a dozen members of parliament present at this Swansea meeting.

In Scotland, too, the good work goes on. It seems there is a revolt in St. Kilda—but it is against the minister. Accordingly, one Mac-Aodh, a signature that will reveal to a good many of your Irish readers a man who has had a good deal to do with the making of history in the land of cakes, has written to the papers to say that he has been looking for a revolt in St. Kilda for seven years. He says:

However much the outside world may forget the inhabitants of this lonely isle, the St. Kildians can always depend upon being visited by at least one gentleman, who has not allowed a single year to pass without renewing his acquaintance with them—viz: Mr. Mackenzie, the factor of the gentleman who is the absolute owner of that remote rock. He proceeds at least once a year in his yacht loaded with ballast, and returns with it to Dunvegan loaded with wool, tweed, feathers and fish, and other products of the people's industry. Any one who visits the Dunvegan post office will find ample food for reflection. I know not what the worth of the island may be, but the cost of making a harbor would be a mere bagatelle deducted from the value of the cargo taken annually by Mr. Mackenzie. In 1885, the year that charity stepped in to save the people from death by starvation, I witnessed in the store of this energetic gentleman bales of wool, webs of cloth, and bags of feathers, and an enormous pile of dried fish, being the payment in kind for rent due to MacLeod of MacLeod. Instead of revolting from Mr. Mackay, the minister, I should have been better pleased to hear that the islanders had revolted from their laird.

It is by pungent little letters such as this that the vision of the cat is revealed to people as much as by the most elaborate speeches.

Turning to England, it will no doubt interest many friends in America to know that the progress made by the Knights of Labor in the neighborhood of Birmingham has caused the leading tory newspapers in these parts to publish a series of articles in reference to the organization. The last article takes the form of an interview with a gentleman in the neighborhood of Birmingham who is said to be a sympathizer with the order. This gentleman is asked by the writer of the articles to set forth what the English Knights generally regard as their objects and methods, and in reply he sets forth those portions of the preamble which are regarded as essential and applicable to England, and the interview shows that so far as the order in this country is concerned it is in substantial sympathy with Henry George upon the land question. Here is an extract from the interview:

As to the taxation to their full value of all lands now held for speculative purposes, English Knights would probably put the matter in this way—they would ask for such a tax on land values as would relieve the country from all other forms of taxation. There is agreement as to the necessity for facilitating the administration of justice, and the adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards." It is a strong point with the order that "laws should be enacted

providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators." But there would be, no doubt, very considerable difference of opinion on the suggested prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age, and the necessity for a graduated income tax would disappear before a tax on land values. There would be agreement upon the acquisition of telephones and railroads by the state, and upon the voluntary establishment of co-operative institutions such as would tend to supersede the existing form of industrial organization. There is perfect agreement also upon the justice of the demand for equal pay for equal work by both sexes; but there is not the same unanimity with regard to the proposal to gain some of the benefits of labor-saving machinery by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day. For example, my own view is that to limit the working day to eight hours would not necessarily secure to the workers any greater share of the benefits of labor-saving machinery than they obtain at present. I hold that the taxation of land values would do that, because it would increase the demand for labor. With regard to the final article of the preamble, viz: "To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened, and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary," there is, again, the most perfect agreement. This is, indeed, the strong point of the Order; for the Knights of Labor are not socialists. They do not look upon employers as enemies. They do not regard capital as an enemy of labor, nor a capitalist as a monster of iniquity. They think that as things go a larger share of the total product of labor and capital goes to capital than is absolutely just, but this is not necessarily the fault of the capitalist, but is rather the fault of the system which makes land—the field of labor—private property, and thus limits what is known as the margin of production. Accordingly the Knights of Labor look upon capital in its true sense, viz., as wealth devoted to the production of more wealth. Capital is the child, or servant, or assistant of labor, in truth, and there is, therefore, no necessary antagonism between labor and capital. But land monopoly limits the margin of production and the opportunity to labor, and accordingly with the growth of population, and the displacement of labor by improvements in machinery, there comes an almost savage competition—and hence disputes between employer and employed ensue. These the order seeks to adjust by all possible conciliatory means pending the time for which its members work and wait—when the monopoly of land shall be broken down (as it would be by the tax on land values) and the margin of production so extended and the opportunity to labor so enlarged that the competition between workers for a bare subsistence would cease, and a competition for labor take its place.

It is plain that the order on this side could not hope to succeed if it were a mere copy of the order in America in unessential details. Regard must be had to the circumstances of England, which in some important particulars differ from those of America.

As a further indication of the progress that is being made I may mention that in the quite recent election of the school board for West Brunswick a representative of the order obtained a seat without opposition. An election took place for the county council a few days ago in the Southwick district, and the Rev. Traver Sherlock, who stood as the candidate of the order, was also elected without opposition.

HAROLD RYLETT.

## Our Scottish Co-Workers—A Titled Convert.

The fourth annual report of the Scottish land restoration league has an interesting account of the work of the past year. The following extract is taken from the report:

The proofs that the liberal party is approximating to the views of radical land reformers are perhaps more patent in Bridgeton than in other localities. We have space for only one of these proofs, but this one is notable. Sir George Trevelyan, the parliamentary representative for the division, has addressed four letters to the secretary of our eastern branch. On the 25th of March Sir George, asking for a complete set of our publications with regard to taxing ground values, etc., wrote, "what I have seen of them is very valuable," and forwarded a contribution of £5 toward the expenses of the league, which has given the public much valuable information." On the 29th of March he reminds the secretary of our eastern branch of a promise of keeping him posted up as time goes on. In his third letter, dated April 6, Sir George writes: "I am extremely obliged to you for your most lucid memorandum, for that it is, though you have condensed it into a letter." In his latest letter of the 17th April, Sir George is "getting warm on the question of the equal taxation of ground values, which appears to me the first shape in which relief to the tax payer should come." Our eastern friends have taken a prominent part in the movement for extending the taxation of ground values to our municipality. They induced Bailie Thomson to move in the Glasgow town council for the introduction of a clause in the forthcoming police bill for Scotland, empowering municipalities to tax local ground values for municipal purposes.

## The Square Issue.

Following closely in line with the declaration of the Chicago platform, President Harrison would desire to make protectionists and free traders the two great parties of the immediate future.—[Woodstock, N. B., Press.

Now the issue is fairly put, and parties must divide on the principles of a protective tariff until such time as a decision is reached on the issue of protection and free trade.—[Woodstock, N. B., Press.

## SINGLE TAX MEETINGS.

## Reports From Various Points Throughout the Country.

The Single tax club of Flushing held a meeting in Free library room on Wednesday, the 6th inst., and completed the adoption of constitution and by laws. Its officers are: Dan. C. Beard, president; Ed. Richardson, vice-president; J. F. Connors, secretary; Theodore E. Lane, treasurer; Henry F. Stahmer, librarian. Mr. A. M. Molina addressed the club, comparing the different schools of political economy. The dues of the club are twenty-five cents a month, and all persons in the vicinity interested in the single tax, limited or unlimited, are invited to attend its meetings. Those opposed to the single tax are invited to call and show the members the error of their way.

The Mansfield, Ohio, Single tax club organized March 1. The club begins with five members. Dr. T. G. Bristor, chairman, and W. J. Huggins, secretary.

All single tax men in the state of Missouri are requested to send their names and addresses to Benjamin E. Bloom, secretary St. Louis single tax league, 919 Olive street, room 3, St. Louis, Mo. Mr. Bloom writes, under date of the 14th inst.: "The St. Louis single tax league held the most interesting meeting since its organization last Tuesday night. After routine business had been finished Mr. Darby continued the reading of 'Progress and Poverty,' chapter 2. 'The Meaning of the Terms,' being the subject for the evening. Professor Will Schuyler had volunteered to make the explanations and answer questions. A great deal of discussion ensued when the slavery question was sprung, and the question of compensation came up. Professor Schuyler pointed out very lucidly how closely the slavery question was connected with the land question, but when one came to apply compensation the 'blackest republican' would claim to-day, except he was a single tax man, that the slaveholders ought to have been compensated."

P. H. Carroll writes from Lewisburg, Tenn.: "We are still working away in Nashville. I am this month out on a business trip dropping single tax seed in all the towns I stop in. In Franklin, Tenn., I called on Judge Cook and found him an out and out free trade man, and he informed me he had read all of Henry George's works and he is with us. Next month I expect to talk single tax in Lebanon in the court house, if not in one of the churches there. Last Sunday in Nashville I called at all the news stands and was informed they had good sale for Mr. George's books, which is a good showing for the grand work Judge Reid is doing. He is the soul of the movement in Nashville. The Australian system of voting bill has been introduced in the Tennessee legislature, and is being pushed. Some time ago I suggested to THE STANDARD the necessity of forming a lecture bureau. We could raise a fund to defray expenses of speakers and I am positive it would be a good investment."

John E. Emblen writes from Omaha that on the 12th inst., Olmstead's Australian ballot bill, an almost exact copy of the new Saxton bill, passed the Nebraska house of representatives by a vote of 63 to 18. Its chances are good in the senate. This work a few single tax men have pushed through. The Omaha typographical union has adopted the Australian system in voting for officers, incorporating the change in its constitution, and will, on the 27th, give its first practical test of the Australian system. The organization of a single tax club is under way. It is already an assured success. It will meet at a central hall every Sunday afternoon.

The single tax club of Nashville, Tenn., has elected the following officers: P. H. Carroll, president; L. M. Strickland, corresponding secretary; I. M. Ridge, treasurer; Judge Frank T. Reid, lecturer. Public meetings are held every Sunday afternoon; Judge Reid never fails to impress his hearers. The single tax is being thoroughly discussed and many are reading and studying this question of reform.

Helena, Mon. Ter.—On January 2 last the Montana Single tax association was organized, with headquarters at Helena. The membership is made up of persons from different parts of the territory, with S. F. Ralston, sr., of Marysville, as president, and J. M. Clements of Helena as secretary and treasurer. The first work of the association was an earnest endeavor to have the main features of what is known as the Australian voting system adopted as the law governing elections in this territory. A bill to that effect was introduced in the council by Hon. Will Kennedy, a member thereof, and also a member of the association. Petitions were circulated throughout the territory and numerous signed praying the passage of the law. As a result the bill has passed the council, and will no doubt pass the house and become a law, as our governor favors the system. Montana having now become a member of the sisterhood of states, the single tax association will not lessen its efforts, but will endeavor to see that the single tax movement in Montana keeps pace with the times.

J. M. CLEMENTS, Secretary.

A temporary organization was effected Thursday, 14th inst., at Newark, preliminary to establishing a single tax state league for New Jersey. All friends interested are re-

quested to communicate with the recording secretary, E. W. Nellis, 80 North Main street, Paterson, N. J. Meetings will be held at Newark, office of Herbert Boggs, 802 Broad street, Thursday evenings, March 21 and 28. It is hoped that local clubs will be formed throughout the state, and that by means of the state league they will be enabled to co-operate and do effective work for the single tax idea.

Malden, Mass., single tax men invite all interested in the cause to meet at the hall of the Malden Deliberative assembly, on Pleasant street, Thursday, March 28, at 8 p.m., for the purpose of organizing a single tax club.

## "PROGRESS AND POVERTY'S" TENTH BIRTHDAY

To be Celebrated on Jefferson's Birthday—Cooper Union Engaged for the Occasion—A Grand Reunion to Celebrate Both Events.

The single tax clubs of New York and New Jersey are going to have a great double celebration on April 2, and they have engaged Cooper union for the purpose. On that date it will have been 146 years since the father of democracy in the United States was born and ten years since the author of "Progress and Poverty" completed that work. It had been the talk for some time past that these historical events should be celebrated in some fitting manner, and the agitation committee of the Manhattan club was finally instructed to initiate the movement. Three weeks ago, delegates of the Harlem club met with the Manhattan club's committee, and issued a call inviting all single tax clubs in this vicinity to co-operate.

Last Sunday afternoon delegates from the Harlem, the West Side, Jersey City and Flushing clubs met with the agitation committee at the rooms of the Manhattan club, 8 St. Mark's place, and proceeded to make the necessary arrangements, which will take the form of an open mass meeting. Committees on speakers, printing and reception were appointed, and will perform the duties assigned them in time to report next Sunday. Louis F. Post will be the chairman of the meeting. The programme will probably be, a brief sketch of the career of the author of "Progress and Poverty," a eulogy of Thomas Jefferson, and a report of the progress of the single tax movement. Who the speakers are to be cannot be stated at this writing, but the great speakers of the single tax movement are sure to be present and perhaps others not so far identified with the movement.

Several clubs were not represented at last Sunday's meeting, and it is to be hoped they will appear this coming Sunday at 3 o'clock.

## ADDRESSING THE FRIENDS.

Dr. Walter Mendelson Explains the Single Tax Doctrine to Their Literary Association.

Walter Mendelson, M. D., made an address on the subject of the single tax on last Thursday evening before the Friends' literary association in the Friends' seminary, corner of Sixteenth street and Rutherford place, New York. In the course of a logical argument for the single tax, the lecturer employed facts and illustrations drawn from his experience as a medical man among the poor of the city. A very good audience was present, about half being ladies. Strict attention was paid to the lecture, and at its close a debate sprang up and grew so interesting that the proceedings were not ended until three-quarters of an hour after the customary time of adjourning. It was evident that the address had set many minds to thinking.

As to poverty in New York, the doctor said: "At the Roosevelt hospital dispensary I have had scores of patients from the flax mills, the jute mills, the silk mills and the carpet factories of that district. And also many car drivers and their families. I know the wages they get, and how they live. I also know from what disease they suffer (for they all suffer from the same thing)—from chronic semi-starvation! They go down on the books as cases of dyspepsia, of bronchitis, of rheumatism, or what you will, but the true diagnosis is under feeding!"

"You know the squalor and the dirt, the forced immorality of the tenement house. Perhaps you do not know that in this city over one million people live in tenement houses. You may not know how in the heat of summer time the little children die by the thousand. In 1884 there died, of children under five, in June, 1,437; July, 2,276; August, 1,657; September, 1,399. In the whole year 15,212. Yet in the great yellow fever epidemic of Memphis, in 1879, when the total deaths amounted to only 2,688, all the United States joined in sympathy and aid."

## Work of the Reform Club.

The Reform club keeps on hand at its downtown headquarters, No. 52 William street, a supply of books and pamphlets on the subject of the tariff; these include the works of Bastiat, Schoenhof, George, Taussig, Wells, and others, and pamphlets such as Thomas G. Shearman's "Protection, the enemy of Wages," Henry George's "Protection and Wages," and David A. Wells's "Primer of Tariff Reform." All new works on the tariff that appear will also be kept on sale. A recent circular of the committee on tariff reform, of which John De Witt Warner is chairman, proposes a scheme for active work and organization in New York state. A printed form for a tariff reform club constitution is

supplied, with blanks for the names of place, etc. It is confidently expected that a large number of clubs all working on the same lines will be formed. Information can be had on this subject from the secretary, S. S. Terry, 52 William street, New York city.

## THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

Lindley Vinton's Address—A Probable Change of Residence Shortly.

Lindley Vinton on last Sunday evening delivered his second lecture before the Manhattan single tax club. His subject was "The tariff and its effect on production." His argument, in the main, against the tariff was the same as that used by the single tax men in the late campaign, and showed that protection had not built up a single big industry. In answer, a protectionist friend made a number of assertions as to how protection had cheapened the certain articles of necessity, and Mr. Vinton disproved what the gentleman had said by the production of facts and figures. The entire debate was quite animated.

Next Sunday evening, H. DeForest Baldwin will address the club on "The tariff and what it does."

August Lewis last week sent to the rooms, with his compliments, a Webster's unabridged dictionary.

The property now occupied by the club has been sold to a builder, who intends shortly to tear down the present structure and build a flat house. The club had a verbal lease of the premises for one year; but the recent owner will probably make good any loss that may result from having to move before the lease expires. The club was getting cramped for room, anyhow, and had the property not been sold they would have secured the next floor. It had been thought that the tentative scheme would be far enough advanced by this time to have purchased the property. However, the officers of the club think the club must now have a whole house. They say the club's income will warrant it, and the increasing membership makes it necessary. Meantime the club hopes that the single tax people will hurry up and raise the money required to purchase a building, so that it (the club) may have a landlord in sympathy with the work which the club is doing.

## A Single Tax Sunday School.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—Our legislature, before it adjourned, went into the election law business with a vengeance. In addition to those acts mentioned in last week's letter, another law was passed which makes it a penal offense to bribe, or attempt to bribe, either in primaries, party conventions or regular elections. The act spoken of in my last provided for civil procedure, upon affidavit, for damages. Neither act affects the bribed, but he who bribes, or attempts to bribe, will be in imminent danger of having to pay damages, fines, go to prison and be disfranchised for ten years in the bargain.

Our league in the future will conduct a single tax Sunday school every Sabbath afternoon at 3 o'clock in our hall, Mansur block, northeast corner Washington and Alabama streets. We hope all of our friends will make it convenient to attend.

Two gentlemen prominent in political circles, one or both in the public service, and also one of them a farmer by occupation, came to the meeting to-night to investigate. We helped them to the best we had, and both went away, after signing the enrollment petition, satisfied of the soundness and justice of the principles we taught.

We find many inquirers among all classes, but few active workers are enlisted. There are many sympathizers in the city, but conservatism seems to be the rule and the active and radical workers are the exceptions.

Mr. Poor, a farmer, is one of the old greenbackers, and now a single taxer, full fledged. He is well posted on financial and economic questions, and would help us much, but distance precludes his attendance.

Gilbert Seibert and Ol Wallace, two of our faithfuls, are to leave us for the far west soon. They are going to Tacoma, Washington Territory. Our friends out there will find them of the right ring and true blue through and through.

L. P. CUSTER.

## To Single Tax Men of Brooklyn and Vicinity.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—A special committee of the Central single tax club of this city has been appointed to secure contributions for defraying the expenses of a permanent club house in a location contiguous to the City Hall. The committee desires that each subscriber shall state the amount he will give every month for one year. The size of the premises to be obtained will depend upon the pledges forthcoming, but the estimate at present is:

Rent of club house . . . . .	\$1,500
Incidental expenses . . . . .	1,500
Total . . . . .	\$3,000

To provide for this amount we shall require: 1,000 members at 25 cents a month—\$3 a year; or 500 members at 50 cents a month—\$6 a year; or 250 members at \$1 a month—\$12 a year; or 125 members at \$2 a month—\$24 a year.

It is the desire of the committee to get the larger number (1,000), but as it may take some time to secure this number we request that

subscribers will give the largest amount named above. In proportion as the number may increase, the larger subscriptions will be reduced, so as to equalize, from time to time, with the smaller subscriptions. We urge upon all the importance of acting promptly in this matter. Subscriptions will commence with the current month. From the pledges already given at the last meeting of the single tax club, 41 Court street, and received since by the committee—about one-third the amount stated—we feel quite certain the whole sum will be raised without delay.

Communications should be addressed to  
GEORGE N. OLCOTT,  
38 Grace court, Brooklyn.  
For the Committee: J. Hickling, Chairman.

## The Single Tax Petitions Before the Rhode Island Senate.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The second hearing upon the single tax petitions to the general assembly of Rhode Island was granted last Thursday. The members of the senate committee on judiciary, which is composed of three manufacturers and two lawyers, manifested a decided interest in the question. The hearing occupied nearly three hours, great numbers of questions being asked by the committee, and is to be continued on Wednesday, the 20th inst. At the request of the chairman of the committee, the Single tax association of Rhode Island prepared and presented two bills covering the objects aimed at by the petitioners. The first bill provides for the placing of land, improvements and personal estate in three separate columns of the tax book. The second bill is in the form of an amendment to an existing statute relative to property exempt from taxation, and reads as follows:

The following property and no other shall be exempt from taxation: improvements, to wit: buildings, structures, living trees, ditches, fences, drains, hedges, walls, wells, and developments of mines; also personal property, except that personal property, or improvements, or both, to an amount equaling in value one hundred and thirty-four dollars, when owned by any person, who, if registered, would be qualified to vote, shall be subject to taxation at a rate not exceeding two dollars on each one hundred dollars of such property.

## The Democratic Societies to Celebrate.

The president of the national association of democratic clubs has issued to the democratic societies the following request to observe the birthday of Thomas Jefferson:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC CLUBS.

NEW YORK, March 8, 1889.  
The birth of Thomas Jefferson was an event of transcendent importance, not only to Americans, but to mankind. His influence in the severance of the colonies from the crown of England, and in the formation of the institutions under which we now live, was more decisive, as well as more judicious, than that of any other in the whole line of American patriots and statesmen. The author of the Declaration of Independence, and the founder of the democratic party, it is to his jealous vigilance that we owe the first ten amendments to the constitution of the United States, comprising the bill of rights and the rules of construction which constitute the safeguards of states and people, against the encroachments of centralized power. But for the authority of his venerated name, and the pure republican principles enunciated by him and illustrated in his administration of the government, and in the administrations of his succeeding disciples, the constitution of 1787 would long since have been construed and administered away.

Essential to the preservation of the freedom of the people, the doctrine of strict construction, applied not merely to the federal constitution, but to all constitutions, is equally essential to the purity of government. Corrupt practices inevitably follow loose construction. Thus, economy, frugality and taxes solely for the support of government, are natural and necessary consequences of democratic legislation and democratic administration; while extravagance, corruption and taxes for the aggrandizement of classes and the enrichment of individual favorites, follow with fatal certainty, the ascendancy of federalism.

The democratic party exists to defend these Jeffersonian principles, without which free government must utterly perish.

The national association of democratic clubs is expressly founded upon his teachings. It appears, therefore, to the undersigned, most appropriate that every democratic club and every democratic society in the Union should celebrate his approaching birthday, April 2, in some manner suitable to the great occasion.

At a time when the administration of the executive power of the federal government, and the control of the two houses of congress, have but recently passed, or are passing unchecked, into the hands of a party avowedly federalist, in corrupt alliance with a mighty aggregation of powerful monopolies and practically acknowledging none of the restraints, or limitations imposed by the constitution, it is especially important that the teachings of the great apostle of American democracy should be again most solemnly invoked.

It is therefore respectfully suggested that the clubs and societies in the National association shall, each in the manner above indicated, do its part toward recalling the people of the United States to those principles under which alone we can hope for the ultimate safety of our institutions.

CHAUNCEY F. BLACK, president.

And a Democrat!  
Chicago Herald.  
No man will make himself more useful to the administration than Mr. Randall.

## THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,  
NEW YORK, March 19.

During the past week the committee has had every reason for satisfaction with the progress of the work that it has taken in hand. We hoped that the number of signatures would, by the time this report was completed, pass the 40,000 mark. That hope has not been realized, though we fall but 361 short of the number. The record stands as follows:

Reported last week . . . . . 36,121  
Received during week ending March 19 . . . 3,515

Total . . . . . 39,636

The committee has also reason for satisfaction in the increased contributions. The total amount received during the week was \$75.65, of which but \$6.25 was from one of the regular contributors to the general support of the committee's work.

The contributions have been as follows:

Thomas W. Roberts, New York city.	50
Peter Barbite, Spearfish, Dakota.	4 99
Howard Rich, Hamilton, Ohio.	1 00
Benj. J. A. Nibbels, Louisville, Ky.	50
D. A. Learned, Visalia, Cal.	1 25
James H. Francis, New Britain, Conn.	1 00
James E. Mills, San Francisco, Cal.	5 00
Thomas Giblin, Auburn, N. Y.	50
Joseph H. Sage, Wellsburg, W. Va.	1 00
Frank S. Churchill, Burlington, Iowa.	10 00
S. F. Ralston, Maryville, Mo. Ter.	5 00
John Rix, Hion, N. Y.	1 00
George Rix, Hion, N. Y.	50
George Smith, Hion, N. Y.	50
Charles Rose, Hion, N. Y.	25
Charles N. Cole, Hion, N. Y.	25
O. and L. O. Macdaniel, N. Y. city.	6 25
"H. B." New York City.	5 00
David Harrower, Wakefield, R. I.	5 00
R. A. Cowing, Cincinnati, Ohio.	5 00
A. C. Zinn, Milwaukee, Wis.	1 00
Chas. Mangel, Milwaukee, Wis.	1 00
A. W. Gaetz, jr., Milwaukee, Wis.	1 00
C. H. Ingersoll, New York city.	3 00
J. A. Haggstrom, St. Paul, Neb.	60
G. A. Macfarland, Jasper, Ala.	2 50
E. H. Jones, Leadville, Col.	1 00
James T. Smith, Leadville, Col.	1 00
A. Wallace, Tunnawater, Wash. Ter.	40
Frank LaChair, Malone, N. Y.	75
G. A. Dillenberger, Providence, R. I.	1 00
James Ryan, Oswego, N. Y.	2 00
A. Skiba, Boone, Iowa.	1 00
R. Delaney, Memphis, Tenn.	2 00
A. P. Forsyth, Martell, Wis.	1 00
Billy Radcliffe, Youngstown, Ohio.	50
Chas. Setgert, Minneapolis, Minn.	25
Subscriptions in postage stamps.	1 15

\$75 65

Previously acknowledged in THE  
STANDARD. . . . . 3,160 82

Total . . . . . \$8,236 47

The correspondence of the committee, as is shown by the extracts given below, proves that in all parts of the country our friends are beginning to see clearly the great opportunity offered through the presentation of the petition for spreading our doctrine and for sometimes discovering friends in unexpected places. One gentleman writing from a western city, which for obvious reasons is not here named, since to name even the state would indicate clearly at least one of the public officers referred to, shows how valuable the circulation of the petition has been to him in discovering single tax sentiment. He says:

I return herewith the blank petitions sent to me some time ago. For a while I was very busy, and put off making any effort to get signatures, but when I began I found it was no trouble whatever to get names. Not one has refused thus far. A glance at the names I send you will show the kind of bear I have been hunting.

No. 1 is state superintendent of printing, strongly favoring the single tax, and delighting to paralyze visitors to the state house by coming to the rescue of a lady clerk who is a thorough "George man." He is not yet, however, freed from the shackles of protection. Were the free trade lines drawn across the parties and not between them, he would have no trouble in being with us. At present, he is too much anti-democrat to hope for much from him.

No. 2 is a telegraph operator, outspoken on both the single tax and absolute free trade, and anxious for the formation of a club.

No. 3 is an attorney and heartily in sympathy with the single tax; also too much of a free trader to be a republican longer.

No. 4 is also an attorney, anti-protectionist, and inclined to have the single tax thoroughly ventilated.

No. 5 is district organizer of the Knights of Labor; not committed to the single tax; a strong greenbacker; studying the single tax; independent in action politically; would have voted for tariff reform last year if he could have done so without voting for the democratic party. His only objection to the petition is the squandering of the people's money likely to result from a congressional committee going junketing over the country.

No. 6 remarked, when I approached him at the same time that I paid my coal bill—by the way, an opportune moment for any of our friends—"I don't know about that; it wouldn't do for me to sign that; I am interested," I replied, "It does not commit you to do it; it only asks for an investigation and

discussion of the question." "Yes, but I have \$20,000 invested in land." "Well," I said, "I have \$4,000 or \$5,000 myself." "That is true, but mine is unimproved, and then what will become of me?" I answered, "You are not afraid to have the question publicly discussed? When the committee comes this way I will have you go before it and give your testimony on the subject." He signed it.

No. 7 is a large manufacturer and a free trader, only qualifying his advocacy of free trade by conceding something to the ignorant prejudices of the majority of the American people, who by our laws have been invited to invest their money in protected and other enterprises likely to be endangered by our reforms. He said: "Certainly; I will sign it. This does not commit me to it entirely." I informed him that it did not. "Well, I am not committed to it, and yet I can't say that I am opposed to it, because I have not studied the question sufficiently. By the way, were you at the Chicago convention? You ought to have been there. The single tax men were out in full force. They are the brainiest set of men in the country." This gentleman is president of our business men's exchange, an organization formed for the purpose of promoting the material interests of this city. He is a logical thinker, strong in his convictions, and I predict that he will astonish the body over which he presides before his term of office expires.

No. 8 is a lawyer. "Yes, I will sign that with pleasure." I reassured him that signing did not commit him in any way, but I was considerably taken back when he said, "I don't care if it does. I am inclined to think Henry George is about right as far as I have studied the question. I take THE STANDARD, and am in favor of absolute free trade." This gentleman has been something of a democratic politician, but has always been more radical than his party on the tariff question.

No. 9 is an official court stenographer, one of the proprietors of a business college and teacher in our public schools. He was the original single tax man in this city, having enlisted in the cause eight years ago. He has lots of company now to help him bear the "odium" of the single tax.

Please send me another supply of blanks. I think I can get some more names.

Such a letter as this indicates precisely the nature of the opportunity that the circulation of the petition offers. If people would bring their minds to bear upon the situation they would see that the universal stimulation of discussion is of vastly more value than the mere presentation of the petition to congress would be if that were the only thing in view.

If the readers of THE STANDARD will take the trouble to look over the extracts printed they will also see that the awakening of interest through the presentation of the petition and the resulting agitation of the subject has begun to bear practical fruits. One man writes that republicans who scouted the idea of signing a month ago are now willing to join in asking that the subject at least be investigated. A New Orleans man tells of a trip to a parish that probably never before heard of the single tax and of obtaining the signatures of a number of people on a subsequent trip. Another writes that he has been around to see the people who originally signed, and obtained from them any petitions that they had not used. Naturally this brings the subject a second time to the attention of the men called on, and impresses on them the fact that the principle is one for which men are actively working. Then, again, it will be seen by those who scan this correspondence from week to week that this petition is one of the best means yet devised for bringing the subject of the single tax into assemblies of the Knights of Labor and other organizations.

The practical effects of all this are found in the constant reports of the organization of single tax clubs, or the revival of such clubs where they had died out, and in such reports as that made by Mr. Fuller of Middletown, who counted eighteen George men among the thirty-six delegates to a democratic convention, which nominated a single tax man for assessor and cut down the republican majority considerably. In short, he who takes any trouble may see with perfect clearness that the systematic awakening of single tax men to action in every part of the country at once, and at a time when economic subjects are occupying the attention of the people, is stimulating the growth of this movement in every direction.

WM. T. CROASDALE,  
721 Broadway.

The following are extracts from the letters received by the committee:

Samuel D. T. Manning, Portsmouth, Va.—These signatures were obtained from members of the Fourth ward democratic club. The organization invited me to address them last Thursday evening and explain the single

tax, and in company with my co-laborers, E. K. Robertson and J. Thomas Dunn, I did so. Mr. Robertson and I both spoke on the single tax. I do not know that we made any converts, but I am sure we started a number to thinking on the subject, and we intend to try to keep them thinking.

H. M. Scott, Miamisburg, Ohio.—Still they come. We are getting this town pretty well plastered with single tax literature.

John G. Gibbs, New Orleans, La.—These twenty-eight signers are of all political shades of opinion, but they are all interested and want to know more about the single tax. I have made two trips to St. Bernard's parish with good results. The first time I could get but one signature, but that caused much discussion, and on my second visit I secured six.

G. McM. Ross, Dun Glen, Nevada.—Judging from the number and character of the tramps we meet passing east and west on the Central Pacific railway through Nevada, I fear a revolution will be upon us before the single tax can be adopted.

Maurice Yunger, Carondelet, Mo.—We are making sure though slow progress in this place. There is little trouble in getting business men to sign these, but it is hard to make laboring men understand the meaning of the thing. The eyes of the latter, however, are beginning to be opened as to the sort of protection they are getting from this tariff, and this may prove their starting point toward a clearer understanding of our principles.

S. A. MacFarland, Jasper, Ala.—I have only lived here eight months and so am a comparative stranger, and so far as I know I am the only single tax man in this part of the country. A few of these signers I have partially converted. The remainder of the signatures, however, were willingly given and I find very little prejudice against us since Henry George came out for Cleveland. I must say that was one of the wisest moves that could have been made. I can see now the immense advantage we have that I did not see at first that it would give us. If we had good workers in this part of the country we could make many converts both among democrats and republicans—democrats especially, who would not listen to us a moment if we were to connect the single tax with a third party movement.

Robert Baker, Albany, N. Y.—Mr. Mahoney and myself have just mailed a hundred copies of THE STANDARD containing William Lloyd Garrison's Boston speech of February 22 (which we marked) to the most conservative people here. We thought if we could only raise the veil of prejudice from some of these people's eyes they might be induced to investigate.

W. A. Whimrey, Douglas, Wash. Terr.—Our cause is making progress slowly but I think the single tax idea is permanently taking root in the minds of our people. There are now a number of single tax men here, though eighteen months ago there was but one, to my knowledge, in the country. Some of our county officials are now reading "Progress and Poverty," "Land Question," tracts and so on.

William Balfour, Troy, N. Y.—I have tried to see as many as possible of the persons who signed for me to find out if they have received literature and blanks, and if they were interested enough to obtain names and send to you. If they would not agree to this I ask them to send them to me and I will forward them to you. In that way I got some to work.

[This is an excellent suggestion and it is hoped that others will adopt the same plan.—W. T. C.]

James Finn, Detroit, Mich.—I am pleased to know that you are stirring up the boys. We have many brave and good men here, but some of them seem to think that you in New York should do all the work and that they do their whole duty when they read THE STANDARD or talk to a man who is already converted. I have no time to talk to a man who understands the question as well as myself, except as to plans for future action. I am for the fellow who does not know that he is a single tax man and when I meet such (and I meet several every day) and he and I find out that we have been thinking on these questions in the same way we become fast friends at once. We have not been doing much loud talking, but have carried on a quiet and steady missionary work. We have this town completely honey-combed by single tax men. We are now beginning to prepare for a vigorous forward movement. I went to Toledo lately and called on A. R. Wynn and others. I wish we could have a Wynn in every block.

Lossen Tolen, Bear Grove, Iowa.—The tracts and a dozen petitions reached me, and I return the latter all signed by farmers. I am willing to spend more time in working for the cause, but I cannot afford to back it up with money. With workers enough two-thirds of all the people in Iowa could be got to sign this petition.

Ed. M. Harris, Lincoln, Kansas.—People are thinking and are anxious to read and be educated as they have never been before.

Frank Sheridan, Ft. Lewis, Col.—All that is required out west is an explanation, and everybody catches on to the single tax right away.

Dr. W. Symington Brown, Stoneham, Mass.—I have enlisted for the war and am not afraid to be known as a follower of Henry

George. We have started a single tax league in Stoneham. There are only seven or eight of us yet. Mr. Gray of Lynn lectured for us lately on a Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon with good results. I redelivered my lecture on "Life, Land and Labor" the following Wednesday at the rooms of the Y. M. C. A. They get THE STANDARD every week.

Harry Broom, Philadelphia, Pa.—Inclosed you will find my blanks all signed. I am really surprised to find so many single tax men in this Mecca of protectionists. Many of those who signed used to talk about the blessings of a high tariff, and I am completely astonished at the way in which they signed this petition.

Thomas S. Burgess, Newark, N. J.—I do not know how many are pushing the work in this city, but I do know that there are thousands here who would willingly sign it if properly approached. I would appeal to all friends of the cause everywhere to push it forward. Its discussion opens a new chamber of thought in many, and makes life more attractive.

S. H. Howes, Southboro, Mass.—This is a very conservative farming community, but there is evidence of progress in the fact that the farmers' club is to discuss the single tax on Friday evening, March 8, and I have been invited to open the discussion.

"Swedish American," Minneapolis, Minn.—Signers are all, like myself, Scandinavians. The great mass of Scandinavians are ignorant of the single tax movement. The Swedish-American papers have been profoundly silent on the subject, and so far as I know, have the Norwegian and Danish papers. Of late, however, the light has broken in on the sons of the Vikings. The Scandinavian tariff reform association, with headquarters in Chicago, has started two able papers exposing the fallacy and fraud of protection, and declaring for free trade. Sved, the Swedish publication, has, perhaps on my suggestion, begun a discussion also of the single tax that promises much good, the editor himself apparently being an enthusiastic single tax man. One other Swedish paper, Svenska Amerikanska Posten, has promised at my request to take up the subject in its next issue. So the Scandinavians will soon have an opportunity to know something of our principles, and to enlist in their support. Those of them who are not holders of idle land readily perceive the grandeur and justice of the new movement, and not a few of them have become zealous single tax men.

Wm. W. Rose, Kansas City, Mo.—I want to call your attention to the awful state of affairs in Los Angeles, Cal. Over ten thousand men are out of employment and have walked the streets daily for the last ten days four abreast and repeatedly begged the citizens to establish a free soup house, but in vain. Signs are posted on places of business: "No help wanted here." These facts should be known in order that no more people may be inveigled by the glowing accounts of real estate boomers, intended to attract people from all parts of the country to Los Angeles.

C. H. Fuller, Middletown, N. Y.—At the last democratic city convention held here I counted eighteen George men among the thirty-six delegates. Of course a single tax man was placed in nomination for assessor. We made no special fight as we should have done had we had a real secret ballot. The republicans put moneyed men in nomination and our candidate went down with the rest of the ticket. Our Fort Jervis friends, however, did better. Although the leading candidates on their ticket were defeated, Mr. Vail, our single tax friend, was elected assessor as was another radical, Mr. Dedrick, for justice. All we want now is the secret ballot, and when we get it we will be in a position to do good work.

Henry L. Chase, St. Louis, Mo.—Another single tax club has been formed in this city to be known as the Benton Single tax club. Henry L. Chase, president; William H. Little, secretary.

Hon. Frank T. Reid, Nashville, Tenn.—Professor Bennis, professor of political economy in the Vanderbilt university here, lectured before a large audience recently, and I think he did the single tax cause considerable good. The only objection he could see to its agitation was that the time was not yet ripe. Other reforms must come first, reforms that were now imperatively demanded, and to these he proposed to devote his undivided attention. At the conclusion of the lecture I addressed several questions to him, which resulted in causing him to admit that he thought the single tax doctrine would ultimately prevail, as it was the only just and perfect system of taxation. The papers, however, in their accounts of the lecture, kept this from their readers.

Dr. Henry S. Chase, St. Louis, Mo.—Two-thirds of these signers are republicans. A month ago they would not sign, but I have been giving them tracts, and now they are willing to "let in the light."

W. J. Boreman, Parkersburg, W. Va., sends a placard announcing a meeting that took place at the tariff reform league rooms over the council chamber in that city on March 7. The interesting part of the announcement is as follows: "A fifteen minutes' talk each by a tariff for revenue man, a free trader and a single tax man. At the end of each talk any one may ask questions of the speaker on the question discussed."

NOTE-BOOK JOTTINGS.

A New England cotton manufacturer, who has large works, was talking recently with one of my acquaintances on the question of ballot reform. This master of men did not feel any too comfortable at the thought of a change in methods. Things as they are please him well enough. He said: "They have ballots now that are supposed to be got up so that no one can tell how a man votes. But we get around that. No man in my employ votes more than once against my interests. I'm around about election times. I sit on the platform at meetings and I know who are present. I know, too, how things are going on election day. When a ballot falls into the urn we know who puts it there and know what ticket it is. We've got to look out for our interests. This infernal free trade racket of last fall cost me more than ten thousand dollars. I'll tell you, Phil, there's nothing for keeping workingmen in their places like a good strong monarchy."

But the rich do not all talk in this strain, by any means. A man tells me that last Sunday a philanthropic millionaire—a millionaire three times over—went with him to see two of the up-town sights in New York. One was a newsboys' lodging house and the other Frank Work's stable. The horses of the sportsman were better cared for than the boys, whose condition is not so bad as that of newsboys in general. The exterior of Work's stable looks like a bank or a public library. It is of brown stone and brick and three stories in height. Polished hard wood shines everywhere inside. It has a reception room and a library. When at dinner at his hotel, after seeing these sights, our millionaire said: "Well, we took a look at things at both ends of the money scale, didn't we? There won't be such differences, always. No man ever earned a million dollars; he only managed to get hold of what some other men made. Every dollar a man accumulates besides what he is honestly worth to society is just exactly one dollar taken from somebody else, and it usually also represents a wrongful power in some monopoly used to prevent other men from going to work to make something."

I went to the weekly meeting of the American socialists last Friday night. There were fifty or sixty persons there. On coming away a German-American said to me, "These meetings are not what they used to be." "Why not?" "Oh, because George has come up so, and given the socialists better ideas." Several of the most active members of the Manhattan single tax club were formerly socialists. The enrollment committee have been receiving a very large number of German names with the best American spirit shown in the letters accompanying lists of them.

"He ought to be an intelligent man; he has worked for years making watches." This a speaker at the socialists' meeting said he had heard said several times of an acquaintance. One day he asked the latter about his watch making. The man said he had been in a factory. His work was to put one of the smaller wheels of the watch into a clamp and turn a handle once, cutting a hole in the wheel. This he did for years, probably in all a million times. "How his brain work must have distressed him," said the speaker.

An officer of a trades union told me the other day that he lately called, in the course of his duties, on a firm, to try straighten out one of the annoying difficulties that are always arising between employer and employee. The matter required patience and explanation on both sides, but it was at length adjusted. When the business was over, and he was about going, he let drop a word about better times coming with the single tax. "What!" said the representative of "capital," "do you know anything about that? Why, I was laying for you." And then the two had a good talk on a subject concerning which both were at home. Trades unionism did not suffer by the bond thus formed, and both men saw in the future the light of hope alike for struggling unionist and working capital.

The Manhattan single tax club has standing in a frame on a mantel piece a Fremont campaign medal, which has now again much of the significance it possessed some thirty-three years ago. An inner swinging frame permits both sides of the

medal to be seen. Old men go up to it, turn it around, examine it, and then tell the younger ones of the times when liberty was the watchword, and when employees were afraid to speak their sentiments lest their employers heard of it and discharged them.

The New York working women's contempt for men. This was the theme of a gentleman who was talking with me the other day about the well-dressed, well-behaved young women who troop homeward from the stores and factories in the evening. He knew hundreds of them. He said that earning their own living made them independent, and brought them to measure with an experienced eye the man who might propose to become the breadwinner for one of them. They would not trade too readily the situation of working woman for that of wife. The drift of affairs is to open up positions for women and close many hitherto occupied by men. Women could be more independent than men in this state of things.

The course of the ballot reform bill which passed the Montana council a week ago is not without interest, single tax people being anxious to know how success may be accomplished with their minor projects. When presented, the bill was regarded as having very little chance of passing the council, and to think it would become a law would have required a great stretch of the imagination. The committee on elections held it back nearly a month, with the intention of smothering it. Councilman Will Kennedy, however, had on his desk petitions in its favor from nearly every county in the territory. Every morning for two weeks he presented one of the petitions, calling attention to the character, prominence and business of the petitioners, pointing to the fact that all the signatures were given intelligently, as each petition contained a full description of the system, and making other pertinent remarks. The matter being thus kept in agitation, the unfairness with which the bill was treated was also kept in view. Copies of Mr. Wigmore's book on the question were distributed to members. Praises of the system are now being heard on every side, and Mr. Kennedy believes that Montana will step to the front in the line of electoral reform. GRIFFE.

Tenants' Defense Association of Montreal.

The declaration of principles of a society recently established in Montreal, Canada, under the name Tenants' defense association, indicate that some of the single tax men of that neighborhood have been at work. The declaration says:

Believing that it is only by constant vigilance and thorough organization that the majority can protect themselves against the greed of the minority the Tenants' defense association has been formed in Montreal for the purpose of:

1. Causing to be exempt from taxation all tenements and dwelling houses and their conveniences to the value of \$2,000 or less; also, that the present system of collecting water rates be discontinued and the loss of revenue which the proposed exemption from taxation and the discontinuation of water taxes would occasion be compensated for by a tax on land according to its value, whether improved or idle.

Then follow several other proposed enactments, designed to limit the power of the landlords and compel them to keep their houses in better repair, etc., and a demand is made that the property qualification for citizenship be abolished.

This declaration of principles is printed in French and English, and is being distributed throughout Montreal—which, by the way, is a very much landlord ridden city.

Welcome, Baltimore Herald.

THE STANDARD takes pleasure in reprinting the following editorial article from the Herald, a prominent daily paper of Baltimore. It evinces an intimate knowledge of the practical steps taken thus far in the single tax reform, and places the facts in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to the convictions of the newspaper's managers on the subject:

The public have been made reasonably familiar with the Australian system of voting through its adoption in England and its proposed adoption in several states of the American Union. Now the same far away quarter of the globe has set the world an example in taxation which bids fair to be no less interesting and practical than her electoral methods. This is the experiment of the so-called "single tax theory."

Hereafter, in South Australia, all buildings, personal property and improvements upon land shall be exempt from taxation. One tax only shall be levied, and that upon the relative value of the bare land. Exorbitant rents, corners in real estate, speculation in fictitious values, and the whole train of evils so familiar in American cities are supposed to be done away by the realization of the single tax idea. As now practically applied in South Australia, it is the theory promulgated

by Henry George shorn of some of its more extravagant vagaries.

The main feature in this reform of the land tax is the economic principle that the owner of ground has no moral right to take advantage of its position to exact tribute for its use. It is the exact counterpart of the practice of land rental so familiar to citizens of Baltimore. In large cities and new countries, like our western territories, speculators are enabled to anticipate the progress of civilization and monopolize large tracts of real estate. Afterward, when it is needed for improvements they may assign any fictitious value to it or exact special rent for its use during a period of years. This rent is nothing more nor less than a tax upon industry or production, paid to capital invested in land. It forms no part of the revenue assessed for governmental purposes, and has more than once been dignified by a name no less harsh than theft.

The truth is all but self-evident that taxes upon industry hamper production and greatly block the wheels of commercial activity and progress. To tax a man for building a house, to fine him for starting a manufactory, to levy tribute from him for planting a field of cotton or corn is certainly to take from his profits and hinder the work that he would do. The complexity of relations in advance of civilization, however, and the financial interests involved in the striking down of rents and land taxes greatly complicates the single tax theory in the popular mind, but the experiment to be tried in Australia will be watched with keenest interest among the older nations. If successful there, it may be tried in other parts of the world.

Learning by Experience.

Paterson, N. J., Guardian.  
The general reduction in wages now being made by iron manufacturers throughout Pennsylvania seems to be arousing a good deal of thought among the workmen of that state as to the boasted effects of an extreme tariff. If there is any one industry more thoroughly "protected" than another it is the iron business, and the return to power of a party committed to the maintenance or advance of that "protection" should be the last time in all the world for failures, shut-downs and cuts in wages. The National Labor Tribune of Pittsburg, one of the stoutest defenders in the last campaign of the war tariff as a high wages producer, seems surprised and shocked at the outcome. Referring to a reduction of pay in a neighboring rolling mill on the 4th inst., the Tribune exclaims:

"A fine day, truly, to whack mill wages, the day of the inauguration of the party whose vociferously announced policy (upon which it won the election in November) is a protective tariff whereby to maintain home wages."

Then the Tribune goes on to show with startling boldness that in the manufacture of common bar iron, where the wages of laborers are being made a special object of attack, the tariff is about \$20 a ton too high when domestic prices are less than \$36 a ton, as they are now; and the paper very pertinently asks "wherein is the sense in having from four to five times as much protection as is necessary? It does not protect wages, as is evident by the reductions passed and those contemplated now." And it concludes finally that the unions have had far more to do in keeping up wages than the tariff.

SINGLE TAX MEN.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

Akron O.—Jas R Angier, 109 Allen street.  
Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J C Roshart, 22 Third avenue, or James J Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.  
Alhambra, Mon Ter.—Mrs Josephine Soath.  
Altoona, Pa.—Joseph Sharp, jr., secretary Single tax club, 411 Tenth street; Albert C Rouzee, 924 First avenue.  
Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harvey Hook.  
Anacostia, D C.—Carroll W Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.  
Anaheim, Cal.—James B Hasset.  
Anton Chico, N. M.—Lewis I Granstam.  
Ashtabula, Ohio.—A D Bragg.  
Atlanta, Ga.—John C Reid, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.  
Auburn, Me.—H G Casey, secretary Single tax club.  
Auburn, N. Y.—Daniel Peacock, president; H W Benedict, secretary Single tax club, College hall.  
Augusta, Ga.—A Schmidt, 52 Lincoln street.  
Avon, N. Y.—Homer Sablin.  
Ballston Spa, N. Y.—Richard Feeny, 63 Milton avenue.  
Baltimore, Md.—John W Jones, sec Single tax league of Maryland, 125 S Bond street; John Schmon, Pres Henry George club, 435 N Eutaw street; Dr Wm N Hill, 143 E Baltimore street.  
Bayside, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M Molina.  
Briceville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.  
Bradford, Pa.—J C De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.  
Bristol, Dak.—W E Brokaw.  
Birmingham, N. Y.—E W Dundon, 33 Maiden lane.  
Boston, Mass.—Edwin M White, 38 Main street; Charles R Roche, 29 Converse avenue; Mahlen; Hamilton Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain, Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E West, M D, 49 Clermont avenue, president Single tax club.  
Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.  
Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm A Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.  
Camsteo, N. Y.—H W Johnson, P O box 263.  
Canon City, Col.—Frank P Blake, M D.  
Canton, O.—S J Harriott, M D, president single tax club.  
Cape May City.—Wm Porter, box 57.  
Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.  
Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W Smith, M D, office opposite Union house.  
Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Wittler, secretary Single tax club, 126 Milwaukee avenue.  
Chenault, O.—Dr David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Joseph's news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, 288 Vine street.  
Chnton, Ark.—O M Mastin or Alex G Duke.  
Cleveland, O.—C W Whitmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L Carter, 133 Chestnut street.  
Clinton, Ind.—O Bishop, editor Argus.  
Conos, N. Y.—J R Crane.  
Colton, Cal.—Charles F Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.  
Columbus, O.—Edward Hyndman, 348 1-2 South High street.  
Cromwell, Cal.—Jeff A Hailley.  
Cramer Hill, Camden county, N. J.—Chas P Johnston.  
Danbury, Conn.—Sam A Mann, 34 Smith street.  
Dayton, O.—W W Kilo, 31 E Fifth street; J Q Galloway, 263 Samuel street.  
Denver, Col.—F H Monroe.  
Des Moines, Iowa.—J K Kason, president Single tax club; John W King, secretary.  
Detroit, Mich.—J K Finchard, 45 Waterloo street; J F Duncan, 279 Third street, secretary Tax reform association; S G Howe, 624 14th av.

Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J V Lanston.  
Dighton, Mass.—A Cross.  
Dunkirk, N. Y.—Francis Lake.  
East Cambridge, Mass.—J F Harrington, St John's Literary Institute.  
East Northport, Long Island, N. Y.—J R Rudyard.  
East Rindge, N. H.—Edward Jewell.  
Elizabeth, N. J.—Benjamin Urner.  
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Hot Springs, Ark.—W Albert Chapman.  
Hosack Falls, N. Y.—F S Hammond.  
Houston, Tex.—H F King, corporation attorney.  
Hutchinson, Kas.—J G Malmom, M D.  
Hyon, N. Y.—George Smith, P O box 24.  
Indianapolis, Ind.—L P Custer, president Single tax league, W U Tel Co; Chas H Krause, bookkeeper, Vonnegut's hardware store, E Washington street.  
Ithaca, N. Y.—C C Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.  
Janvier, N. J.—S B Walsh.  
Jersey City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Hudson county Single tax league, 86 Erie avenue.  
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas E Reid, 2,223 Woodland avenue.  
Kethausburg, Ill.—M McDonald.  
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Lansingburgh, N. Y.—James McMann, 21 Eighteenth st.  
Lonsdale, Ill.—Dr L F Garvin.  
Lexington, Mo.—F D Lyford, 3 Cottage street.  
Lexington, Ky.—James Erwin.  
London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, Westminster.  
Los Angeles, Cal.—W H Dodge, 30 North Alameda street; W A Cole, 149 South Hill; or A Vnette, P O St tion F.  
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kidder street.  
Lyle, Minn.—C F Wenham.  
Lynchburg, Va.—Thos Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets.  
Lynn, Mass.—Theodora P Perkins, 14 South Common street.  
Madison, Dak.—E H Evenson.  
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Manistee, Mich.—Albert Wakley or W R Hall.  
Mansfield, O.—W J Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.  
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Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 75 East South street.  
Maunatus, Indian Ocean—Robert A Rolin, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.  
Memphis, Tenn.—R G Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street.  
Middletown, Conn.—John O Hopkins, P O box 580.  
Middletown, N. Y.—Chas H Fuller, P O box 113.  
Milwaukee, Wis.—Peter M Gull, 147 Fourth street.  
Minneapolis, Minn.—C J Budd, president Single tax league, 402 W Franklin avenue; E L Ryder, secretary.  
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Murrayville, Ill.—William Cunn, president Democratic club.  
Nashville, Tenn.—P H Carroll, 235 N High street, secretary American land league.  
Neponset, Mass.—Q A Lathrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.  
Newark, N. J.—Rev Hugh O Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.  
New Brighton, Pa.—John Soltz, 1 North Broadway.  
Newburg, N. Y.—D J McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.  
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New Orleans, La.—John S Watters, Maritime association.  
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New Westminster, Brit Col.—Alex Hamilton, member Tax reform association.  
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North Springfield, Mo.—K P Alexander, 1826 North Booneville street.  
Oberlin, O.—Edw H Haskell.  
Oban, N. Y.—George Hall, pres Single tax association.  
Timothy Horan, sec, 55 Railroad street.  
Oklahoma Wash Ter.—Alexander Farquhar, Adam street.  
Omaha, Neb.—John E Emblen, 822 Virginia avenue.  
Oradway, Dak.—H H Garland, member Tax reform association.  
Oswego, N. Y.—Alex Skillen, 160 West First street.  
Passaic, N. J.—J J Barnard, P O box 181.  
Paterson, N. J.—E W Nellis, chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Main street.  
Parkersburg, W Va.—W I Boreman, member of Single tax league.  
Pawtucket, R I.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.  
Peoria, Ill.—J W Avery.  
Philadelphia, Pa.—Chas S Prizer, 1013 Penn street; Charles A H Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.  
Piermont, N. Y.—Charles B Hood, P O box 13.  
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Portland, Ore.—S B Hagen, 45 Stark street; H H Thompson.  
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Youngstown, O.—Hilly Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.  
Zanesville, Ohio.—W H Longeneck, 27 Van Buren street.

## TAXES AND LEASES FOR THE FAR WEST.

Two Wyoming editors, J. K. Calkins, of the Lusk Herald, and Norman B. Dresser, of the Rock Springs Independent, have written to THE STANDARD in relation to the progress of the single tax doctrine in that territory, and to the practicability of its application in the cattle-growing country.

Mr. Calkins says:

I am getting several of our best citizens interested in the single tax. The main difficulty met with here by a single tax advocate is found in the fact that we have plenty of good government land, which can be secured almost for the asking. You are, of course, aware that, with a great many, a grievance must be personally felt to be adequately realized. Here wages are good and vacant land plentiful, which makes reform in the present system not seem so necessary. However, my experience causes me to believe that all we need to secure final glorious success is to present facts to an intelligent American people. Wyoming is already trying the system, in a crude and imperfect manner, with her school and university lands.

And Mr. Dresser writes:

Wyoming territory, and especially the southern counties, is a stock raising country. The range is government land, fit for no other purpose than to graze stock, except along the mountain streams, where numerous strips of land have been fenced in and converted into hay ranches. The small amount of our land values makes the practical application of the tax on them somewhat difficult, for a sufficient revenue could be raised by this means only by levying upon the comparatively few land owners a rate that would be burdensome. I can see how such a tax would be a benefit to such towns as Rock Springs, whose growth is checked by land speculation, and also how it would throw open some of the coal lands the Union Pacific holds, but does not use, but burdensome taxation would soon destroy land values.

In view of such a condition, might not a tax upon stock be imposed in connection with a land tax without committing an injustice—in fact, would not a tax upon stock be in a certain sense a land tax? It takes about thirty acres of our range to furnish the annual grazing for one head of stock; therefore, a tax upon stock might be considered as payment for the use of thirty acres of public grazing land for each head of stock taxed. I am aware that under this system, as under the present one, large cattle owners would pay a smaller proportionate tax than the small stock owners from the difficulty of accurately finding out the number in their herds, but I suppose exact justice cannot be done to every one under any system.

The large cattle concerns are in favor of leasing the ranges, but to this the small stockmen and ranchers are opposed, for they say it would squeeze them out. No one would lease except it gave him the absolute control of the tract he leased, and this would give him the power of fencing in the water supply upon which the herds of a wide expanse of unleased land depended. It would seem as if all should have an equal right to the use of the grazing lands, for, unlike the equal right to the use of agricultural lands, its enjoyment does not require the individual occupancy of land—it can be a communal occupancy.

A Wyoming editor is in an excellent position to see the land question from several points of view. Under his very eyes the best of Wyoming's lands are being grabbed through the forms of law. Wherever there is promise of a new town the proposed site is snapped up by speculators. Vacant lots in the growing towns are held at prices which discount twice the present population. Of vast available deposits of coal the railway monopoly withholds from use all whose product might compete with its own in the market. The overstocking of the cattle ranges has of late years entailed enormous losses. And the land laws of the general government do not permit legal occupancy of the public domain by the cattle men, who alone can render nine-tenths of it available. Hence Wyoming is moving forward at a snail's pace, whereas she might be doubling or quadrupling her wealth and population year by year.

Only a small portion of the lands registered in Wyoming under the desert act has passed into the hands of settlers. The tracts thus transferred from the government to private possession, exceeding in extent, many times over, all the lands registered under the homestead and pre-emption acts, have been notoriously going directly into the hands of the cattle companies, the nominal possessors being no more than their paid agents, and the land strips so taken up have usually lain along water courses, the possession of which give control of the highlands.

The capital city of Cheyenne, and Laramie, Rawlins, Rock Springs, Green River, and Evanston, and Lusk and other new places in the north, are every one of them obviously retarded in their growth by speculation in sites for homes and business houses. About six years ago one

rich man set out to buy all the vacant lots on Ferguson street, Cheyenne, the best situation for residences, with a view to profiting through their advance in value, and a few others made themselves as nearly as could be the masters of all the land along the line of water pipes leading from the reservoir to the built up part of the city as soon as it was constructed. The one exciting topic in every place in Wyoming at that time was the probability of a real estate boom, and the one standing subject of debate was as to what quarter would best pay the investor in vacant lots. And the main cause of the bewildering self touting of every locality was the hope that with more people more value would come to the land of those who had been first on the spot and had possessed themselves of the one thing that had to be rented or bought by new comers.

About ten years ago, the managers of the Union Pacific railway deliberately froze out the business men who had been producing coal and lumber along its line. They raised freight rates to a point at which the profits of the producers disappeared, increased their own mining and lumbering operations, and then raised the price of coal and home lumber as high as sales would bear. Coal that would have brought a profit at \$3 a ton was sold in Cheyenne at \$6 and \$7.

But by far the greatest drawback to Wyoming lies in the inadaptability of the United States land laws to the needs of the great pastoral industry conducted on the open range. In this respect it bears its full share of the distress felt by all the states and territories where much of the land is fit only for grazing purposes. A commission appointed by congress in 1881 to examine into the question of the disposal of the public domain reported that perhaps five hundred million acres could not be put to use as farming land under the methods of agriculture as now practiced. In the report of the governor of Wyoming to the secretary of the interior for 1883, it was stated that of the sixty million acres in the territory but eight millions were farming land, and recommendation was made (page 51) that new laws be enacted to bring about their permanent and lawful occupancy.

A state of anarchy now prevails on the public domain. It is illegally occupied by the cattle graziers. No efforts are made to improve it, as there is no security for improvements. Herds are driven in on ranges already crowded. Enormous financial losses result, and in the present state of affairs no efficient means can be adopted to prevent a repetition of the cause. The losses through the nonfeasibility of working the lands to a higher capacity than as wild lands, are incalculable.

It would seem that assent to the doctrines of the single tax might be generally gained from people in Wyoming without much argument. Nineteen-twentieths of the land there is yet common property. All citizens of the territory have surely equal rights in it. Their presence alone gives it its value. In the absence of population, all the coal and timber tracts, gold and silver beds, and mountain and meadow lands of Wyoming would not fetch one cent. After any of these opportunities have passed into private hands the people see their value increasing on a scale that, all things considered, leaves to capital the average rate of interest in the far west and to labor the average rate of wages, and in a general sense that rate of wages must be at least equal to what labor could gain for itself on taking up government land. In other words, interest and wages fall as capital multiplies and workers increase in number, the price of land advancing meantime high enough to take all the rest of production. As the president of a Cheyenne bank once said to me, "In ten years we shall obtain about the rate of interest now paid in the Missouri valley, and wages will have gone down, but the corner lot where the bank stands will be worth three or four times what it is now." To the people of Wyoming these are plain and simple facts. And yet to teach them to mankind Henry George has been obliged to write volumes, and to adapt them to the intelligence of theoretical political economists he has elaborately formulated them as the correlative laws of rent, interest and wages.

That the real value given to land by the community should return to the community in the form of a tax would be as readily agreed to by most Wyoming men as that they ought not to be levied on for

producing a valuable thing through their labor or for conducting a business of benefit to mankind. That the speculative value of land ought to be shaken out of it, so that natural opportunities might not be forestalled, would with them require no argument at all.

It would seem an easy task to put the single tax in operation in Wyoming, at least in a modified form to begin with. In fact, public sentiment has already shown itself to favor leases instead of sales of territorial lands, and a consideration of the question on a larger scale might induce the legislature to extend the principle.

If a land value tax were made optional with counties, Albany could put it into force to a profit over Laramie. The new towns springing up in the region of Fort Fetterman, in Albany county, already threaten the northwest trade of Cheyenne, which lies in Laramie county, and if business men and workmen could settle in those towns on paying to the owners of the town site a rental for land based on its present value, and to the town or county treasury the annual rental value accruing in future, their gains would be greater than those they could possibly expect in Cheyenne. They would require no capital to buy land. Speculation in town lots would yield no one anything. Newcomers would not find a barrier between them and a home site or store site, such as now exists in Cheyenne. These towns would be compactly built, instead of rambling over acres and acres of open land. Business life and social life would be the better in consequence. The streets could be well paved, and the sidewalks solid. To the consumer, gas, electric lights and water could be delivered at a minimum price, the plant for municipal monopolies being paid for from the public treasury.

Would not Cheyenne then soon hurry up to gather her taxes in the same way for fear of losing her supremacy?

The single tax once established, even if at first limited to the appropriation of future values of land, the fame of Wyoming's liberal policy would be noised abroad, and her fortunes would push on, to be restricted only by the possible yield of the opportunities open to her people. The choice spots of the Laramie Plains, the valley of the Platte, the sage brush levels along the Sweetwater, the fertile benches in the region of the Big Horn river, and the beautiful country sheltered by the Wind River Mountains, would quickly teem with an industrious population. Town and country would invite, not repulse, immigration. There would not be the possibility of one idle class of first-comers living on the fat of the land because of their rent-rolls; there could not be another idle class of late-comers, unable to find work because they were fenced off from the land.

At this stage of Wyoming's development, people would look sharply into the question of the monopoly of any kind of natural opportunity. The railways would be asked to pay full assessments on every coal mine, soda bed, petroleum deposit, and timber tract they were holding out of use, and they would pay the taxes or lose what nature never meant any set of men, acting like dogs in the manger, should have the power to keep back from other men's uses. And the railways would fix low rates for transportation, or the enterprising people would, out of the surplus of their treasury, construct new lines, and have them operated so that freights would be low.

But after its farm lands and extensive mineral and wooded tracts were being worked, Wyoming's ranges would be left. And they are one and a half times the area of New England.

In 1886 a petition was made to congress, with the sanction of the national stock-growers' association, that leases of public lands, limited as to time and qualified as to the manner of their utilization, be made to cattle and sheep growers. The men engaged in pushing the petition desired that graziers whose herds roamed within certain natural boundaries, such as rivers and mountains, should in a body become the lessees of the lands, but not to the exclusion of any men who would use them for purposes other than pastoral. By the plan, each ranchman would contribute toward the payment of the rent a sum proportional to the number in his herd. The land would be measured, not by acres but by feeding capacity. The "round up" would give the census. No

fences would be put up, and the animals of each herdsman could roam at will over an entire lease. The petitioners saw in this plan an annual yield to the public treasuries of \$20,000,000 to \$25,000,000. Their aim was security for the pasturage of their herds, the absence of which has cost Wyoming enormous amounts and brought about the failure of some of her most capable business men.

It is surprising that the cattle men of the west have not advanced this plan more energetically. Serious opposition to it would likely disappear, were it made clear that agricultural and mineral land, and that needed for town sites, would be dropped by the cattle men as other men would bring it into a higher use, and were it shown that small stockowners would be treated with justice.

If the public lands in Wyoming were leased to the stockgrowers, thirty acres would not long be wasted on a single cow or steer. The waters of Wyoming, now contributing to the disastrous summer overflows of the lower Mississippi, would be employed in irrigation. Canals would be run through the soft soil down along the many watersheds of the territory that seem to have been sloped off by nature for the purpose. The regional leases could be made of a duration to encourage such improvements, and on a small expenditure of capital in making them, Wyoming could support perhaps several million more cattle than she does now.

The system of leasing grazing lands would work smoothly in connection with the value tax on other lands, the rent paid by the cattle men going of right into the territorial treasury.

Rich in a never failing and an ever increasing public fund, and richer still in free natural opportunities, Wyoming's people would be free traders from self interest, and they could afford to acquiesce in the abolition of the internal revenue taxes. They would also see their interest in public control of municipal and national monopolies.

There is nothing utopian in what is here written. Ground rent, the people of Wyoming must pay. Those who become owners of land pay it, under the present system of land tenure, when they pay the purchasing price. Their tenants pay it to them. From the annual production of Wyoming is paid its taxes and its ground rent, too. The workers now carry all of both burdens. The proposal here advocated is that, instead of paying ground rent to fortunate private individuals, the users of land shall pay it into the public treasury and save for themselves all now paid in taxes, direct or indirect, with the accretions of profits and interest on taxes that merchants, manufacturers, and all others who handle taxed goods are obliged to advance. Were this system once in practice, utopian and ridiculous indeed would that landholder be deemed who would propose that men give him their ground rent and take other money from their purse to pay taxes and the increase on commodities that accrues with taxation.

Of all parts of the civilized world, there is none where conditions are more favorable for the immediate application of the first steps of the single tax than the new states and territories. The people are freer from superstitious traditions as to immoral legal rights than those of older communities, where time has glozed over the long standing wrongs of those deprived of their natural rights in the land. In new communities the broad relations between land and labor are plain to the ordinary understanding. The injustice and the aggressions of wealth got by over reaching and forestalling are there the more shocking. The gulf between the classes and the masses is narrower, but it is visibly widening in the sight of every one. There, without tracing through the mazes of the highly complicated forms of production in older communities, all men may perceive that land and labor are the primary factors in producing everything that mankind consumes, and that true capital is what labor saves and uses in further production. True capital and labor are not at war, but they work hand in hand. What both need is free and fair play. What both are at war with is the forces of monopoly. The most wide spread monopoly is that of land—town site, farm site, railway site, or any other other form of opportunity to go to work. Capital can find a way to get its own, and labor its own, when land held in speculation is thrown open and actual site values are absorbed by taxation.

J. W. SULLIVAN.

## THE STANDARD.

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The decision by the court of appeals that the arcade underground railroad acts are unconstitutional may compel the exclusive use of surface and elevated roads for a good many years to come. Should this be so the decision may be deplored; but if it results in the building and owning of an underground road by the city, it will serve a more useful purpose than the decisions of this court in corporation cases have often done. High engineering authority has demonstrated that it is practicable to build an underground system, and by the same authority it is shown that the expense compared with the magnitude of the enterprise is trifling. If constructed by the city, the system might be let out, as are our ferry franchises, or operated by the public, as is the railroad on the Brooklyn bridge. Whatever is done in the way of extending transit facilities, and something must be done, the absolute ownership of a highway should never again be allowed to be private property.

On the 2d of April the voters of the town of Hempstead, Long Island, are to celebrate the birth of Thomas Jefferson in a unique but very appropriate manner. They are to decide whether or not to sell Long Beach to the company that now leases it. Every one imbued with the spirit of Jeffersonian democracy is interested in the result. The question is whether the town shall sell forever to a private corporation what is not alone the common property of the present generation, but is by them held in sacred trust as the common property of future generations. If there are any real democrats in Hempstead, let them prove their democracy on this anniversary of Jefferson's birth by working and voting, as he would do were he alive and there, against the proposition to divest the town of its common lands.

In favor of the sale it is urged that Long Beach, to make it a success, must be built up, and that gentlemen of means will not build costly cottages on leased lands. This is the stereotyped plea of the tempter. It has been disproved over and over again, both practically and theoretically. Men will build on leased land. They will build just as good structures on leased as on any other land. It is not ownership of land that induces building, but security for improvements. Give that and men are apt to build better on leased ground than on ground they have to buy, for the simple reason that when not compelled to deplete their capital by purchasing land they have so much more to use for building. The reason for the usual preference for private ownership has nothing to do with improvement. It relates to the desire to profit by the increase of the land's value, which is nothing less than a desire to get something for nothing. If the people of Hempstead want to see Long Beach built up let them lease the land on terms that will secure the value of improvements to the improver, free them from all taxation (if the

legislature will consent) and subject them to no imposts, but a rental to be adjusted at reasonable intervals on the basis of the actual value of the ground.

It is gratifying to be able to applaud the statements of the Brooklyn Times relative to the proposed sale of Long Beach. It says this beach is in many respects the finest of the more accessible beach area of the island, and much of the rest has passed under private control and is valued very highly, adding that the "beach can never increase by so much as a single inch . . . while the value will increase very rapidly with the increase of city population." That is a pregnant fact which is too often forgotten in considering the question of private ownership of land. No land can increase by so much as a single inch; but the increase of population and the greater pressure upon land that invention is all the time making raises its value steadily as a whole and in some places rapidly. The ultimate effect is the inevitable reduction of the masses to slavery; the intermediate effect differs only in degree.

Concluding its editorial in opposition to the sale the Brooklyn Times says:

The time is not very far away when the land at Long Beach will be worth a good deal more than \$1 a front foot—which is about what the town is offered for it. Beach land, not one whit better, so far as natural advantages go, and no nearer the city, sells for fifty or a hundred times as much at other points. Probably the best use which any town can make of beach land now held in common is to continue so to hold it, leasing it upon the most favorable terms possible, but never selling it. The income from this source will be certain to increase as years go by and to render material aid in reducing town taxes for schools, roads, and other public purposes. The once despised and apparently worthless beaches are becoming mines of wealth.

Yes, mines of wealth! And the question is, Who shall have the wealth? The whole people from whom it is in the first instance drawn in increased rents, or the few who now buy for a song the privilege for themselves and their descendants of enjoying for all time the rents which private ownership extorts. This question as to Long Beach is to be settled on Thomas Jefferson's birthday, and those who have the right to vote should be reminded that Thomas Jefferson taught that use, not ownership, is the only right individuals can have to land.

If all editors were as sensible of their responsibility as public teachers as Mr. F. E. Harris, the editor of the Ocala (Florida) Daily Banner, there would not be much danger of public corruption through popular ignorance. Mr. Harris was a candidate for governor of Florida at the last election, and having declared that he had no gubernatorial aspirations, a local contemporary made the sneering remark that he must be sincere because no man with the least spark of hope in his bosom would blight his prospects by advocating the single tax. To this Mr. Harris replies that it is a good thing for every country to have in it men who are not hampered by political aspirations but can give themselves unreservedly to finding and proclaiming the truth. "We may be mistaken," he adds editorially, "but we propose to utter our honest convictions."

Mr. Harris has a clear understanding of the single tax, which he expounds in a simple and pleasant style. He and his paper have a strong influence in Florida and are making influential converts. As in Florida so all over the United States. The opposition press cannot leave the single tax question alone, and the single tax press does not want to. By single tax press we mean not merely papers started for the purpose of advocating the idea, but also those that have been long established and from opposition have been led to candidly consider the question, and finally to accept our conclusions. Of the latter kind there is a large and growing number. Even our most enthusiastic friends would be astonished at the progress we are making, if they could see the discussions in the local papers of the country.

Thanks to the energy of Will Kennedy, a prominent editor of Montana and leader

of the single tax movement in that territory, Montana will bring into the union with her the Australian system of voting. The law which was signed by the governor last week is the Saxton bill, with such modifications as adapt it to the territory. It is known as the Kennedy law.

We were in error last week in announcing the passage of the Australian bill in the California assembly. It appears to have been defeated by a vote of 45 to 27. The praetorians die hard. In California they boldly vote the reform down; in New Jersey they choke it with parliamentary tactics; and in New York they offer a monkey reform in the hope that it may defeat the real reform by delaying action. The probability is that the only states in which we shall get the reform this year are Indiana, where it is already a law; Rhode Island, where its adoption seems assured, and Montana, which is as good as a state. But considering that the agitation dates only from the campaign of 1887, when the speakers of the United labor party urged the reform all through this state, and also that the law was adopted last year in Massachusetts, the progress already made is as gratifying as it is unprecedented. We can well afford to wait another year for legislators to learn from their constituents that any further temporizing with political brokers and bosses will be resented.

Governor Hill's bill in this state by which he hopes to defeat the Saxton bill without being again driven to the extremity of vetoing it, would be worth \$40 a month and board as a freak in a Bowery museum. The World correspondent describes it truly when he calls it "the Saxton bill amended to a corpse." It provides for the printing of official ballots at public expense, but as it allows the use of ballots not so printed, all the evil influences of the "cheeler" at the poll are perpetuated. By allowing ballots to be taken away from the polls it makes it possible for a voter to prove to the satisfaction of a briber how he has voted. While it prohibits the assessment of candidates or the paying of assessments by candidates, any candidate is permitted to "voluntarily pay his fair share of the bona fide, reasonable and actual expenses of printing his ballots," a provision over which the governor must have chuckled when it was submitted to him. Some indication of the state of affairs in the assembly was offered by its action on a motion to make the Saxton bill a special order for the 21st. Such a motion requires a two-third vote to carry it, and, the republicans having only a majority, it was lost by a strict party vote. Immediately following this result Mr. Sheehan, the governor's lieutenant in the house, introduced the governor's bill. The reasonable inference is that the governor has succeeded in making his bill a caucus measure, and that the democrats will be arrayed solidly against the real reform. If they can draw off a few republicans, for it has not been made a republican caucus matter, the Saxton bill may be defeated outright. This failing, the governor's bill may be made the means of defeating the other by delay. In either case the governor will be saved the disagreeable necessity of signing a bill which only a year ago he vetoed. Then he took upon himself the responsibility of defeating the measure; but this year he wants to shift the burden to his party, and its members in the legislature seem to have been fools enough to let him.

It used to be said of the Sun, even by people who detested its editorial utterances, that it was a thorough newspaper; but it is now losing that reputation, and if its exclusion of Mr. Saxton's lecture on ballot reform is a fair sample of its news policy it deserves the loss. Ballot reform is a subject that is attracting attention all over the country. In several states bills are pending. In this state the question has been under discussion for over two years; a bill has been passed and vetoed, and a new bill has been before the judiciary committee for weeks. On Friday evening last the author of the

bill that was vetoed, and of the one now pending, and upon whose model the laws of Indiana and of Montana, and the bills pending in New Jersey, Ohio and other states were drawn, was to lecture here on the subject of the reform to which all these bills relate. There cannot be a doubt that this lecture was an item of news to which the buyers of all local papers were entitled; but the Sun excluded it. When the Sun was edited by a journalist it was a newspaper, but since it has been under the editorial management of a newsivorous cat, its strongest claim for public support has been weakened.

Mr. Saxton's lecture, which was delivered before the federal club, was a sensible and eloquent plea for the Australian system, and a lucid explanation of its details. He pointed out that it is not by increasing the severity of penalties that offenses are prevented, but by making the offenses unprofitable and practically impossible; and this is the first lesson a legislator should learn. Applying the principle to election offenses he showed that the only method of genuine reform is to print and distribute ballots at public expense and under the solemn sanction of the law, and by means of isolating the voter just before he votes to compel him to vote in absolute and inviolable secrecy. This prevents the suppression of the ballots of a particular candidate, the bunching of tickets, the deceiving of voters by fraudulently imposing split tickets upon them, the intimidation of voters, the raising of corruption funds, and the corruption of voters, and destroys the evil and formidable power of the machine. In discussing the necessity of the reform Mr. Saxton raised a laugh against the genial Bourke Cockran, by describing, and not in exaggerated paraphrase, the picture of the Arcadian simplicity of New York politics which that eloquent spokesman for Tammany hall solemnly drew for the edification of the judiciary committee.

The World rebukes the democrats in the legislature for their manifest effort to prevent all legislation on the subject of ballot reform by introducing a new bill. It believes that when the republican majority offers as good a bill as the Saxton bill, the democrats should be willing to accept it; and concludes that they "would be if their machine politicians were not interested in the system that enables them to run elections." That is the precise truth. It is not democrats as such that want to kill this reform, but machine politicians. They are democrats in democratic states and republicans in republican states, but in their own hearts, neither democrats nor republicans; and their study is to control the party machinery of the dominant party. This is shown by the republican opposition in Connecticut and Maine, and the democratic opposition in New York and New Jersey. In all these states the rank and file and the reputable leading men of both parties want the reform; but in the former republican bosses, and in the latter democratic bosses, put obstacles in the way. It is this kind of politics, boss rule in legislation, that the Saxton bill would abolish, along with a variety of other foul growths upon our republican system of government.

The astute but badly informed Brooklyn Standard-Union wants to know in view of the combination to raise the price of coal and the fact that there is no tariff duty on this coal, what becomes of the free trader's theory that the tariff is the father of trusts. Genuine free traders would call the tariff a side partner of trusts, rather than the father. And it is a very efficient side partner even of the coal trust, for, though there is no duty on the particular kind of coal that is the subject of the trust, there is a duty—a duty equal almost to twice the cost of mining—on the only kind of coal that could be profitably imported.

Judge Grinnell, of Chicago, in an address at the Kenwood club on "Socialism in America," described protection as fostering and encouraging socialism, and in

fact being socialism. That protection is socialism, or that socialism is protection, is no argument against either except to the timidly good who are frightened by names. But the protectionist who has really considered the nature of socialism and revolted at its paternalism could profitably weigh Judge Grinnell's words. Let Judge Grinnell be what he may—a bold, prosecuting officer or a persecutor of innocence—he has properly classified protection by putting it in the same family with socialism.

If the Baltimore Sun tells the truth, and it has the reputation of occasionally doing so, Colonel Dudley is undergoing punishment for the heinous crime of allowing himself to get found out. The story is that a few days before the inauguration the new president's private secretary wrote to the colonel saying that the president sympathized deeply with him on account of the criticism and obloquy cast upon him by reason of his blocks-of-five letter, but requesting him not to call or attempt any personal communication, as it might embarrass the administration. In justice to Colonel Dudley, this communication, or one the same in spirit but adapted to the occasion, should have been sent before election, to give him an opportunity, while it was yet time, to redeem himself in Harrison's esteem by countermanding the instructions of his blocks-of-five letter. Then, though Colonel Dudley might not have been a visitor at the White House, he could have freely called upon Mr. Harrison at Indianapolis during the entire presidential term, and neither would have been embarrassed by criticism or obloquy.

Warner Miller, when lecturing to the Business men's republican association on Fifth avenue, volunteered the superfluous information that "there are more rich men who do no work for a living between this club house and Harlem than there are in any city on the face of the earth." That is true, and if we had free trade and the single tax it would not be a great while before most of them would either work or cease to be rich men. Under free trade and the single tax no one need work for another without full compensation, and when that is the case it is as impossible to be a rich man without working as it is to be a learned man without studying.

Henry C. Bowen of the Independent, who heard President Harrison's inaugural speech, writes to his paper that no president ever touched the hearts of the people as Mr. Harrison did on that occasion, adding that "tears of gratitude were seen in all directions." Mr. Bowen is probably in error about these tears; it was a very rainy day.

The Evening Post's recent editorial on the Maryland oyster beds, in which they were used to illustrate the impracticability of the medieval system of common lands which "Progress and Poverty" was held to advocate, was briefly but effectively answered by J. K. Miller of Plainfield, N. J., in a letter to the Post published last week. Mr. Miller's letter is well worth reproduction, and we give it entire:

Will you kindly allow me to intrude upon your valuable space to call attention to the fact that the trouble with the Maryland oyster beds, referred to in your editorial article of yesterday entitled "A practical commentary on Henry George's land theories," was discussed in Mr. George's STANDARD some weeks ago, and the attention of its readers called to the fact that the application of the single tax principle to them would prove a satisfactory solution of those troubles? The particular significance of this lies in the fact that Mr. George evidently does not consider that the principles he advocates are applied there, or he certainly would not recommend their application as a remedy for existing troubles.

All through your article the impression is evidently sought to be conveyed that Mr. George's proposition amounts to a proposal to abolish all security in the possession or occupancy of land, and consequently all incentive or encouragement for its improvement. May I ask where in the published writings of Mr. George you find anything which warrants such an assumption? You must certainly be aware that in chap. 1 of book viii., "Progress

and Poverty," and in other parts of the work as well, he distinctly recognizes the necessity for security in the possession and use of land. If the proposition contained in that work is to be proven an absurdity, that particular and specific proposition must be attacked and its argument refuted. The setting up of any number of imaginary theories, which no one has proposed, and demolishing them, will avail nothing. The Evening Post has done effective work for the cause of tariff reform, but it has accomplished that work by attacking the tariff and clearly demonstrating its absurdity and injustice, not by attacking socialism or anything else foreign to the subject. It can never accomplish anything against the doctrine of the single tax on land values by attacking anarchy.

Here is a distinct challenge to the Post to show wherein "Progress and Poverty," or any other of its author's writings, warrants an assumption that he proposes to abolish security in the possession or occupancy of land. The Post confounded ownership and possession, and having its attention called to the error—one that it could not possibly defend—it was incumbent on it in candor either to admit the error gracefully, or to show that security of possession as well as ownership is contrary to the principle of the single tax. It does neither. What it does is to quote from "Progress and Poverty" the statement that private property in land is historically robbery, and to deny it on the authority of Adolph Wagner, and then to quote the proposition from "Progress and Poverty" that we should satisfy the law of justice and meet all economic requirements by at one stroke abolishing private titles, declaring all land public property and letting it out to the highest bidders in lots to suit under such conditions as would sacredly guard the private right to improvements. Of the latter quotation the Post says: "It hardly seems to us that any phrase about guarding private rights would induce people to improve their land property if it were liable to be thus confiscated without notice."

It hardly needs to be pointed out that this is no answer to the challenge of the letter. The Post makes no attempt to show that it is impracticable to guard the private right to improvements while regulating ground rent by public competition. It contents itself with the naked assertion that it finds it inconceivable that a phrase about guarding private rights would induce people to improve. A paper like the Post must be pretty hard driven when it has to stoop to such pettifoggery.

In "Progress and Poverty" the principle at issue is not left to inference. It is distinctly stated at page 358: "What is necessary for the use of land is not its private ownership but the security of improvements. . . . It is for the sake of reaping that men sow; it is for the sake of possessing houses that men build. The ownership of land has nothing to do with it." This principle is applicable to the Baltimore oyster lands. It is not because men are denied ownership of the bed of the bay that they do not cultivate oysters, but because they are not protected in the possession of the product of their cultivation. Give them that, and they will cultivate. And that can be given without making them owners of sea bottom. It is only necessary to give to the highest bidder exclusive possession of the ground he cultivates, with the security of the law—expressed in as many phrases as necessary that when he leaves, whatever be the cause, he shall be fully indemnified for all improvements that depend for their value on their attachment to the soil.

But the passage we have quoted is by no means all the Post is moved to say in answer to Mr. Miller. Having set up a stuffed straw figure of the single tax and demolished it to its own satisfaction, it goes on to explain that though the stuffed straw dummy is decidedly objectionable, the real single tax is probably a pretty good thing. "The single tax theory," says the Post, "as a practical guide in taxation, has much to be said in its favor. The single tax as a means of confiscation is a very different thing. If you set out to make a location valueless, you will prevent people from improving it." All

of which pretty accurately represents the opinion of THE STANDARD and other advocates of the single tax.

Will not the Post now explain to its readers what the single tax theory is, and tell them the "much" that is "to be said in its favor?"

Everett Glackin's suggestion to trades unions, printed elsewhere in this issue of THE STANDARD, is worth reading and thinking over by all, and especially by members of trade and labor organizations. Mr. Glackin has been president, and is now secretary of Typographical union No. 6, one of the largest and most powerful unions of the country. He has long been an earnest advocate of the single tax. He thoroughly understands the objects of labor organizations and the limits of their effectiveness, and comprehends the interest they have in the movement for industrial emancipation. The single tax men in trades unions should see to it that Mr. Glackin's excellent idea is put in practice.

The single tax clubs of New York and vicinity intend to unite in celebrating the birthday of Thomas Jefferson on April 2. So far as the arrangements have yet been decided on, they are described in another column of THE STANDARD. It is proposed, at the same time, to celebrate the close of the first decade since the movement for the single tax was inaugurated by the publication of "Progress and Poverty."

Single tax men, above all other citizens, have a right to honor the memory of Jefferson. For their movement is, in truth, an effort to put in practical operation those principles of democracy which Thomas Jefferson so vigorously upheld. Equal rights to life, equal rights to liberty, equal rights to the pursuit of happiness, were what the great Virginian insisted on for all men. And that he saw instinctively that these rights are inextricably bound up with the equal right to the use of nature's opportunities, is evident from his immortal declaration: The land belongs in usufruct to the living. If from the world beyond it is given to Thomas Jefferson to watch the course of events on earth, his spirit must rejoice to see that at last his words, so long accepted as mere glittering generalities, are becoming potent springs of action, urging his countrymen forward on the path to freedom.

#### We Can't Make these Two Paragraphs Doctinal.

Bradstreet's, March 16, page 170.

It is not too much to say that the last five or six decades have witnessed the most complete realization of what has usually been regarded as the dominant aim of modern philosophy. That aim is to be in the largest degree possible fruitful, and to aid in ameliorating the condition of man.

Bradstreet's, March 16, page 170.

#### LIST OF MARCH STRIKES.

Number of strikes previously reported.....	6
Number of strikers previously reported.....	500
Omaha, Neb.—Laborers and teamsters, for advance, March 3.....	100
Kansas City, Mo.—Ice cutters, for advance, March 3.....	100
Syracuse, N. Y.—Clothing hands, for advance, March 3.....	100
Danville, Va.—Laborers (colored) on railroad, for advance, March 12.....	700
Philadelphia, Pa.—Barrel makers, for advance, March 11.....	100
Fall River, Mass.—Cotton mill weavers in 50 mills, for advance, March 11.....	10,000
Allegheny, Pa.—Stove molders, against reduction, March 3.....	60
Philadelphia, Pa.—Printers in tapestry mill, against reduction, March 12, succeeded same day.....	95
Philadelphia, Pa.—Upholstery weavers, against reduction, March 11.....	30
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Building lands, against non-union men, March 13.....	25
Chattanooga, Tenn.—Iron workers, against reduction, March 14.....	50
Bellefonte, Pa.—Puddlers and helpers in iron mill, against reduction, March 13.....	100
New York city.—Workers in label factory, unionism, March 12.....	100
College Point, L. I.—Silk workers, for advance, March 12.....	100
New York city.—Clear makers, against reduction, March 12.....	100
New York city.—Upholsterers, against reduction, March 13.....	50
Total number of strikers in March.....	11,710
Total number of strikes in March.....	22

#### Please, Sir, What Were the Wages Then?

Pittsburg Commercial Gazette.

Now that there is a republican administration they [the Fall River weavers] want their wages raised to the old republican administration rate.

#### What Stupid Told You That?

Chicago Knights of Labor.

The single tax advocate looks with suspicion on the effort to eliminate the sugar tax.

#### SOCIETY NOTES.

Mr. Alexander Stevens has bought land and erected a very pretty house at Bermuda, where Mrs. Stevens and her daughters, with the exception of Mrs. Ladenburg, who has just gone to Jekyll's Island, Ga., have been spending the winter. St. Augustine is as full as usual, but there are fewer New Yorkers than there were last year, when the Three Graces, as they were called—Miss Chamberlain, Miss Marion Langdon and Miss Adele Grant—spent several weeks at the Ponce de Leon. Atlantic City, where the sea breezes come in both fresh and salt, has its invalid contingent from the rest cures of Philadelphia, and also a goodly number of New Yorkers.—[New York Sun.

Investigations made by the newspapers there show that in spite of the mild winter there has been more suffering and sickness among the poor in Chicago than was ever before known; more men have been out of employment, and in some sections, especially in the vicinity of some of the rolling mills which have been shut down all winter, the suffering has been intense. There have been several deaths of men, women and children from actual starvation, and inquiry revealed the fact that, so far as most of the organized charities are concerned, they are wholly inefficient and inadequate.—[New York Tribune.

The styles in men's handkerchiefs are undergoing a noticeable change. Silk is supplanting linen and cambric in great measure, and plain white patterns are giving way to tints and combinations of color, except for outing purposes, where silk is not considered in good form. The prevailing craze for checks and stripes is felt in the domain of mouchoirs quite as much as in scarfs and trousers.

Thomas Morrison, the mission school man, called at the Post-Dispatch office this morning to report a case of destitution, which he says is the most distressing he has come across in his forty years' experience in missionary work. The Bagley family, father, mother and eight children, are without food or means in their home in the rear of 1,421 North Twenty-first street. It is two doors north of the Hamilton school. The eight children range in ages from two weeks to eleven years and are absolutely naked. The father has had no employment this winter. Contributions of clothing or other articles for this family may be sent to Thomas Morrison, 214 North Second street.—[St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 6.

An expensive belt of real silver, recently made, had depending from the left side eight silver chains to which were severally fastened a vinaigrette, a tiny card case, a gem studded glove buttoner, an odd device in the shape of a horn of plenty for holding car fare, a tablet with pencil in silver filigree, a tiny padlock and key, and lastly a charity box of extremely small dimensions.

Isador Lottle, a German shopkeeper, fifty-three years old, cut his throat with a razor early yesterday morning at No. 3,303 Third avenue, and was dead in bed when his wife awoke. His business had not been paying well and he had several children to support. It was said that the cost of supporting his family, added to his business trouble, made him desperate. Rudolph Kress, a young German butcher, was married a few months ago and took his bride to rooms at No. 108 Clinton place. He lost his employment last week, and his inability to find other work made him despondent. On March 13 he swallowed some rat poison, but did not succeed in killing himself. He is a prisoner in St. Vincent's hospital.—[New York Tribune, March 14.

#### The San Francisco Weekly Star.

The single tax men of San Francisco and vicinity have a powerful newspaper ally in the San Francisco Weekly Star. The single tax meetings reported in its columns are thus made the means of carrying the doctrine to a wide circle of people who are unable to attend them in person. But perhaps the best work of the paper is the able editorial defense of the single tax system which is called out by letters from objectors and inquirers. The replies are written by men who have seen the whole cat, free trade tail and all. The Star interests itself in local and state issues too, standing as a matter of course for purity in government and honest elections. Here is an extract from a recent editorial on "California Land":

Governor Waterman puts the area of this state at 99,000,000 acres, of which he estimates that 79,000,000 are either now capable of remunerative cultivation or could be so rendered by irrigation or drainage. The state, he says, has 56,000 farms, averaging 300 acres each, making a total of 16,800,000 acres, or not much less than an eighth of what is capable of cultivation. The total area of land under cultivation in the United States is but 518,000,000 acres. Inasmuch as these 518,000,000 of acres support over 60,000,000 of population, the extra 68,000,000 in this state capable, actually or potentially, of cultivation, would support an additional population to the present, in the same ratio, of about 7,000,000.

Yet with but little over a million of population, we already have here, in full blast, beggars, bums, courtesans, tramps and other infamous accompaniments of old world "civilization." Nor is any other and better condition possible without such a radical change in our land laws and customs as that to which the single tax seems to be the only possible entering wedge. Even in this monopoly ridden state, this wedge can be not only inserted, but driven home, whenever workmen quit running after mountebank leaders and party politicians and give their attention to great practical questions which the daily press and other monopoly organs so persistently seek to keep in the shade, but which will be continuously elucidated at the single tax meetings and in the columns of the Star.

## MEN AND THINGS.

A correspondent sends to THE STANDARD the following letter, received from the North Carolina state agent of immigration:

RALEIGH, N. C.—Dear Sir:—I write this letter to call your attention to the advantages offered by North Carolina as a seat of silk factories. The factory at Wadesboro is doing well.

1. The climate is mild and atmosphere not too rarified.

2. An abundance of cheap labor near all the towns of any size, say fifty towns.

3. The local encouragement that would be given in donation of site and material.

4. Freedom from strikes, and means of controlling labor by having heads of families keep up their own cottages, gardens, etc., on the manufacturers' land.

Correspondence respectfully solicited.

Yours truly,

P. M. WILSON,  
State agent immigration.

This is putting the case pretty bluntly, isn't it? And yet, when you come to think the matter over, you must admit that Mr. P. M. Wilson is only doing his duty by the state that employs him. He says nothing that isn't true. The climate of North Carolina is mild; there is an abundance of cheap labor there; the land owners are probably willing enough to feed the goose that lays the golden eggs by giving some of their land to manufacturing establishments; and nobody can deny that laborers who own cottages and keep up gardens on their employers' land, from which they can be evicted at any time, are very easily controlled. Mr. Wilson's business is to induce immigration; and there is no doubt that he is taking a very efficient means to do it. "The factory at Wadesboro is doing well," and if fifty other factories can be established in "say fifty towns," there will be lots of laborers employed, and North Carolina's silk industry will show up very respectably in the next census, and afford an unanswerable argument for a higher protective duty.

I received a couple of weeks ago a note from Mr. George B. Buzelle, general secretary of the Brooklyn bureau of charities, inviting me to call on him. "The society with which I am connected," wrote Mr. Buzelle, "is a charity organization society, and I would have much pleasure in showing to you some of its actual, practical work, and some of the results in real practical life." I accepted the invitation, and spent several hours very pleasantly in Mr. Buzelle's company.

The object of the Brooklyn bureau is in some respects the same as that of the New York charity organization society, and many of its features are similar. It operates a wood yard—with buck saws and hatchets—and a laundry. It also maintains a day nursery, and a work room for unskilled women without recommendation. So far as I could judge by my conversation with Mr. Buzelle, it aims to relieve all real distress, whether deserving or undeserving, and does not make a specialty of hunting down professional mendicants. "If, as often happens," said Mr. Buzelle, "a lady comes here asking information about a person or a family that we know to be unworthy, we tell her what we know, and advise her not to throw away her money and increase the degradation of the beggar. We earnestly desire that a better gift than money be given by those able to give it." But if, after all, the woman chooses to neglect this advice, and prefers to amuse herself with injudicious alms giving, the bureau regards it as no part of its business to interfere. It did, on one occasion, go so far as to threaten an impostor with the police; but it has never had any alms-seeker actually arrested.

The bureau is at the service of the general public, and not merely of its subscribers. Any citizen can come to it for information, its woodyard and laundry tickets are given to all who apply for them, and any one is at liberty to direct an applicant for aid to it. Its printed circular says that it "keeps its door wide open, and demands no other credential or introduction than real need of help." It occupies a commodious building on Schermerhorn street. Here are its central offices, its work room, and its day nursery. With Mr. Buzelle to guide me, I visited them all.

The work room, for unskilled women without recommendation, impressed me very strongly. I saw twenty or more women, of all ages, some young and good

looking, some old and haggard, doing the simplest kind of work—sewing strips of rags together, unraveling pieces of carpet and cutting the yarns into lengths, and things of that sort. Some of the women had been in prison—some in places worse than prisons. All were women without recommendations. Not only had they never learned to work, but nobody would have trusted them to do work had they known how to do it. An old fashioned loom stood in one corner, on which the rags and carpet yarns were woven into carpeting and rugs. I examined specimens of the completed products. Many of the things were really beautiful. All were useful. The women were clean, neat looking and cheerful. While I was looking on, the time came for dinner, and they all trooped into an adjoining dining room. I followed them in, with a queer sort of feeling as though I were visiting a menagerie, and looking at the animals take their food. A neatly set, clean looking dining table, plentiful portions of bean soup, vegetables and tea. Dinner is the only meal eaten in the work room, the bureau maintaining a lodging house where breakfast and supper are served. Mr. Buzelle spoke hopefully of the results of the work room, and mentioned several cases of women who had left it to engage in honest work and were leading reputable lives. I thought of the almshouse on Blackwell's island, and the reformatory work it might do, on some such plan as this. And then the foolishness of such an idea flashed on me. The almshouse is overcrowded as it is. If it were made as pleasant a place as this, it would have twenty inmates where it now has one.

From the workroom we passed to the day nursery—a sunny, airy apartment, with the babies lying asleep in cradles, or toddling about the floor, while a pleasant faced young woman kept watch for tumbles and other accidents. A good thing, an excellent thing, that mothers who have to go out to work should have a place like this where they can leave their babies for the day. Only—only—well, isn't it, perhaps, a little injudicious to encourage babies after this fashion? Isn't it rather flying in the face of providence? You see, God doesn't do it. He puts the parents into tenement houses, and when the babies get too many, he sends summer complaint, and scarlet fever, and diphtheria, and other special providences of that kind, to thin them out a little and show how much he loves them. Oh! I beg your pardon. It isn't he that crowds men into tenement houses, and kills the babies, you say. Then tell me who it is, and why he is allowed to do it. Because it may be that whoever or whatever does that, is also responsible for the fact that so many mothers are unable to stay at home and attend to their children, as they ought to do. If it is right that the babies should be taken care of at all, surely it would be better to try and arrange matters so that their mothers could take care of them. On the other hand, if it fits in with the providential scheme of the universe that mothers shouldn't be able to take care of their babies, that surely is a sign that providence disapproves of babies, and the sooner they are allowed to die off the better.

This is the laundry. A spacious, well-lighted, well-ventilated room at the top of the house. Everything of the best—porcelain-lined tubs, hot air drying room for rainy days, no chemicals used to rot the clothes, quick work, and prompt delivery. They do good work here. See these glossy shirt bosoms, these fluted skirts, these delicate embroideries. And it isn't charity work, either. They use no labor-making tools. And they charge full prices and are well patronized. Women come here, learn the business, and secure situations as laundresses in private families. Come now, you caviler at organized charity, what fault have you to find with this?

Truly, I find no fault whatever. But I must remark that this isn't charity at all, but simply capital employing labor, as elsewhere, in production, and competing in open market for the sale of the product. It may be, as you say, that you teach some of these women to do what they could not do before—to wash and iron. But it seems to me that any ordinary laundry would do that. You use the best tools, employ sufficiently skilled labor, pay regulation wages, and turn out all the work you can, for sale at market prices. What has charity to do with such a place as this? How's that?—you give the women work? Oh

dear! oh dear! And has it really come to this, that here in the United States, *permission to work is regarded as a charity!* And I suppose you run your wood yard on the same plan? Well, no. You see, the wood yard's different.

The Brooklyn charity wood yard is unlike the New York charity wood yard in this, that it lets the light shine upon its kindlings, and doesn't hide them carefully away, for fear somebody may come and buy them. It advertises its wood for sale. It hustles round, and really tries to sell it. The open winter, of course, has been a blow to it, because people haven't lighted so many fires; but it doesn't seem to have got actually choked, as the New York yard has. I said to Mr. Buzelle:

"Don't you see that when, in your praiseworthy anxiety to provide work for the workless, you put your kindling wood upon the market, you are really taking work away from the men who now have jobs in kindling wood factories? You increase the production of kindling wood, without increasing the demand for it. Are you not simply taking work away from some men to give it to others, and spending money to effect the transfer?"

I rather thought I had Mr. Buzelle in a corner when I asked this question, but I was mistaken. He explained that it took about twenty men, working in the charity wood yard, to produce as much as a single man and some machinery would turn out in a real wood yard. "Now," he said, "if we change the one man's work from running a machine to sawing and splitting by hand, and so provide work for nineteen extra men, that is certainly helpful in an emergency." Then I tried him on another tack. I said:

"Your society aims to put an end to undeserved distress. You want to provide every man, who is able and willing to work, with the means of making an honest living. Suppose you succeed. Suppose you make an end of all undeserved distress in Brooklyn and can give a job of honest work to every man who stands in need of it. Do you think there are railways enough, and cars enough, to transport all the men and women and children who would come pouring into Brooklyn from all over the country?"

This time I thought I had him sure, but I was wrong again. He explained that as organized charity succeeded in its work in Brooklyn, similar organizations would spring up elsewhere and relieve merited and unmerited distress in other places by providing work for it. So that by the time everybody in Brooklyn had work, everybody everywhere else would have work too. I felt that I envied him his confidence. I also felt that if he carried out his scheme in its entirety, there would be a good many machinists splitting kindlings.

I am accused of having a prejudice against charity organization societies. Here is a letter in which the charge is made:

NEW YORK, March 9.—To the Editor of the Standard:—Sir: As one of the originators of the New York charity organization society, and a member of the present council, responsible for the management, I am, of course, interested in the comments made by Mr. McCready in THE STANDARD in regard to the society.

In this week's paper Mr. McCready says he has no prejudice against the charity organization society, but it seems from what he writes that he has a strong, even though unconscious, prejudice against it, and I shall not therefore undertake to answer his strictures, but shall try to explain to the readers of THE STANDARD what the society really is and what it tries to do.

It has two distinct branches of work, one of which deals with those who are engaged in various ways in trying to help persons in need, and seeks to aid them in this work, and the other of which brings members of the society directly in contact with those in need. The first branch is, so to speak, official, and includes the protection of relief societies and private givers against being deceived by false appeals to their benevolence, and is the "detective" work, which is so much dwelt upon by persons who do not like the society. It is important, and has to be carried on, but more for the sake of saving persons in distress from the temptation to cheat and lie than for the sake of saving the money of those who give. It has necessarily a hard side, and exposes the society to the charge of discouraging sympathy and benevolence, of preventing "charity" being given, of encouraging selfish hardheartedness, etc. These charges are not true, however, even of this part of the work, for to assure a would-be giver that his gifts are not wasted on those who ought not to have them, will encourage, and not discourage, giving.

The other branch of the society's work, which is ignored by Mr. McCready, is personal. Its whole object is to bring those who

are intelligent and wise in contact with those who are foolish and ignorant. There is no doubt that, although social injustice, past and present, is among the underlying causes of physical need, the latter, when extreme, is also usually accompanied by very marked mental and moral deficiencies, and that education in its broadest sense would be the greatest boon to the sufferers and would go far to lift them from the slough of despond in which they struggle. Bad social conditions and defective character act and react on each other, and to make a radical improvement in the condition of that part of the population which is most in want of all that makes life worth living, both must be improved. It is the ideal of the charity organization society to induce those who know what life should be, to go to those who do not know and teach them, and it is the experience of such as have undertaken this work, that it is one of mutual benefit, and one also which quickens the sympathies and softens the heart, besides turning the mind to the study of social questions and to the search for the means of improving social conditions.

JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL.

What is a prejudice? A hasty, thoughtless judgment—a judgment before hearing. I don't think I have formed any such judgment about the charity organization society. If I have, it has been very unconsciously, indeed.

I have said that the society discourages human sympathy. Does it not do so? Real charity—the charity that overlooks a brother's fault and longs to alleviate a brother's pain, the charity that is greater than either faith or hope—is a sentiment, and not an action. It is just such a sentiment as parental love, as filial affection, as friendship. How can it be "organized?" Can a man pay a society \$10 a year to love his children for him? Mrs. Lowell may reply that it is not the sentiment that she seeks to organize, but the actions which are its outward expression, just as providing my children with food and clothes is an outward expression of my love for them. But the chief lesson that the society tries to inculcate is that the sentiment of charity is a dangerous sentiment, a sentiment that ought to be repressed, a sentiment that will lead a man into doing wrong, a sentiment that can be judiciously indulged in by very few outside of the society, and that ordinary people will do well to let alone.

"But," says the apologist for the charity organization society, "indiscriminate almsgiving breeds pauperism." That is only half a truth. Any almsgiving breeds pauperism, under present social conditions. The chief wickedness of the charity organization society, as I see it, is that it pretends that alms giving under its supervision will not encourage pauperism. In the strict meaning of the words, it takes money from its subscribers under false pretenses. It practically says to them, "Don't worry about the social problem. We have studied it as experts, and know all about it. All you need do is to pay us a certain sum per year, and we will set everything straight for you." But it doesn't set anything straight. It makes matters crookedier than ever. And because I have showed how it makes matters crooked, and why it never can do anything else, I am accused of prejudice. Is it not possible that the prejudice is on the other side?

Mrs. Lowell makes much of "the other branch of the society's work," the friendly visitations among the poor, which she reproaches me with having ignored. She says the object of these visitations is "to bring those who are intelligent and wise in contact with those who are foolish and ignorant; . . . to induce those who know what life should be, to go to those who do not know, and teach them." Now Mrs. Lowell knows that "social injustice, past and present, is among the underlying causes of physical need." She admits she knows it. Does she go to "those who do not know" and tell them this—explain to them what the social injustice is, and urge them to undo it? Do the friendly visitors, the "intelligent and wise," who "know what life should be,"—do they really go round among the "foolish and ignorant" telling them about this social injustice? Do they go up and down Wall street and Fifth avenue, explaining it, and warning the "foolish and ignorant" that if it be allowed to continue it will rend society in pieces? I don't think they do. My impression is that when they meet a "foolish and ignorant" person on either of those thoroughfares, they keep very quiet about social injustice. Of course I don't know for certain, but I think so. Because I have had some experience among the "foolish and ignorant" myself, and I have noticed that when anybody

begins to talk to them about "social injustice" as a thing that ought to be remedied now, at once, they generally button up their pocket books and go away, using contemptuous language. But they don't seem to button up their pocket books when the charity organization society calls on them. And their language towards it is certainly the reverse of contemptuous. It appears to me just a little significant that the "foolish and ignorant" persons who deny that there is any social injustice, the blasphemers who assert the divine ordination of poverty, the preachers of the gospel of things as they are—it is a little significant, I say, that these should be among the strongest supporters of the charity organization society, and occupy the platform seats at its public meetings.

Has the society ever issued any tract describing this "social injustice," and protesting against it? I look for it in vain in my collection. I find an eloquent treatise "on the need of nerve in charity," a terse argument (by ex-secretary of the treasury Fairchild) against giving away cold victuals, a treatise on "The Wastes of Charity," an essay on "Philanthropy," another on "The Pauper Question," another on "How to Repress Pauperism and Street Begging," a leaflet on "Official vs. Private Relief"—I haven't space to catalogue them all, but there isn't a word in any of them to show that the society recognizes social injustice as one of the causes of pauperism. Yet, Mrs. Lowell recognizes it. Why doesn't she tell the other members about it? Is it wise to let a lot of "friendly visitors" go round trying to instruct the "foolish and ignorant" without knowing what they are talking about? Mr. Buzelle's position I can understand. He thinks he knows all about pauperism. He has made up his mind that by doing certain things he can put an end to it, and he goes ahead to do them with earnestness and singleness of purpose. I think he is all wrong. I think he is doing harm where he wants to do good. I think it an awful thing that a sympathy so keen as his, an earnestness so deep, should be so misdirected. I try to convince him of his mistake. Yet I can see where he is. But I can't understand Mrs. Lowell's position. It may be prejudice on my part, or it may be deficiency of intellect, but to my mind she has no logical standing place whatever.

"Friendly visitors!" That is what the charity organization society calls the "intelligent and wise" people whom it encourages to go about playing friends to the "foolish and ignorant." Not all the "foolish and ignorant," mind you. Only the poor ones. The rich "foolish and ignorant" can choose their friends, and the charity organization philanthropist who should try to force his way uninvited into one of their houses with a view to dissipating the owner's foolishness and ignorance, would be apt to find himself on Blackwell's Island in short order. But the poor "foolish and ignorant" can't help themselves. They are fair game for the "intelligent and wise" who want to get their sympathies quickened and their hearts softened—to take a moral massage at somebody else's expense, to study social questions as medical students study anatomy, on the bodies of the poor!

"Friendly visitors," indeed! Was ever a sacred name so desecrated before! Why my friend is as dear to me as myself. I am glad to find him waiting something from me, just as I am glad to have an appetite for dinner. It rejoices me to help him. If he has faults, I throw the mantle of charity over them. I am proud of him—glad to see him always, sorry when he goes away. Let him stand where men are thickest, poor, naked, unkempt, with every finger pointing scorn at him, and every voice reproaching him, and I will stand beside him, and put my arm about him, and say, This is my friend, my brother, whom I love. That is friendship, as I understand it. But the friendship of the "friendly visitor"—the friendship of the "intelligent and wise" for the "foolish and ignorant"—what is it, what can it be—but the patronage of an acknowledged superior towards a despised and humble inferior? I wouldn't pay a visit to a dog kennel in such a spirit. I should be afraid the dog might find me out and bite me. Dogs are quite intelligent sometimes—the four legged kind, I mean.

If "social injustice is among the underlying causes of physical need," is it not reasonable to ask that the social injustice should be repaired, and that the

men who suffer by it should have it explained to them? Society is stronger than the individual, as millions to one. Society perpetuates a wrong against the individual, and the individual retorts upon society. Is it not a little illogical to spend life, and energy, and money in the effort to compel or persuade the individual to cease his wrong doing and repining, yet leave untouched and unspoken of the social sin that forces the individual into pauperism and crime? Is there any use in doing it? Is it right to do it? Yet in her zeal for charity organization, that, it seems to me, is the very thing that Mrs. Lowell does.

A generation ago our country was disfigured with another great social crime akin to that which we of the single tax movement are endeavoring to sweep away—the crime of chattel slavery. Then, as now, the apologist for social sin had much to say about the wickedness of the unfortunate people sinned against. The negroes were unfit for freedom—they were thievish, lazy, immoral, untruthful. Did the men who stood for freedom then organize societies for missionary effort among the slaves and send out "friendly visitors" to urge them to be good and pious and contented in their chains? No, indeed! The slave owners did that sort of thing, and did it in the interests of slavery. A moral, pious and contented slave was worth more money than a discontented one with aspirations towards freedom. But the men who hated slavery were loud and instant in proclaiming that society must do justice before all—must restore the slave his freedom before it could demand that he should display the virtues of a freeman. And in this faith they fought and died, and conquered.

Humanity in 1889 is much the same as it was in 1861—the same God rules the universe now as then. The charity organization people may try to make industrial slaves good and contented—to conceal from them the fact of society's crime against them—to induce them to accept the patronage of "friendly visitors" as sufficient compensation for the denial of equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. But they will fail, as they always have failed and always must. Out of evil good cannot come, no matter how many societies are organized to bring it forth. Society robs men of their equal right to the use of nature's opportunities, and society must pay the penalty in the endurance of pauperism and crime. Not till right shall overcome wrong, and thistles bring forth figs, and Satan fill God's throne, can it be otherwise.

T. L. M'CREADY.

#### A Chance for Our Protectionist Legislators.

MARITIME ASSOCIATION,  
NEW ORLEANS, LA., March 14.

As petitions for subsidies from sundry languishing employers who are not as rich as they wish, and would-be steamship owners and others, seem to be the order of the day, I submit the following as a fair sample and reasonable request from several gentlemen out of employment, who tell me they see no reason why it should not be granted to them and others in the same circumstances:

We, the undersigned, being out of employment, and being, therefore, obliged to compete in the open market and against fearful odds for a living, to the great detriment and lowering of the wages of others who are now employed, humbly petition to be subsidized to the extent of a thousand dollars a year each, receiving which, we bind ourselves solemnly not to do anything or seek for employment. This will encourage all manner of production, as we will all be consumers, but will not produce anything to increase the glut of the market; and by lessening the competition for employment will raise all wages. Your humble servants,

ALPHA BETA,  
GAMMA DELTA,  
ITALIANA NOGODA,  
MELICAN MANN,  
EPSILON PSI,

and ten million others who, though not now all out of employment, will cease to work if requested and subsidized.

To the Honorable Congress of the United States.

This solution of the labor problem has not yet suggested itself to our astute representatives. It may pave a way out of their present difficulties, and become a national policy.

JOHN S. WATERS.

#### What Happened Between the Two Issues?

Omaha Dispatch, March 7.

It can plainly be seen that a law exempting improvements would throw the burden on unimproved lands, thus compelling the speculators who were looking forward to a rise in values to sell for whatever the property would bring and give the man who desired to improve it a chance.

Omaha Dispatch, March 5.

The direct effect of placing all the taxes upon land and letting other property go free would be to put all the burdens of government upon those least able to bear them.

## CURRENT THOUGHT.

### Man's Power Over Moral Law.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—THE STANDARD of March 9th contains a review of an article of mine in the March number of the Popular Science Monthly under the title of "Law as a disturber of social order."

As the misapprehension of a single point of my proposition leads to an apparent difference of conclusion, whereas in fact we are in very close agreement, I am led to call your attention to an interpretation of the language employed, which, while perfectly consistent with its construction, will harmonize the seeming disparity of views.

You say, "Mr. Reece apparently bases his argument on the proposition that man possesses, over the moral universe, a power which he does not possess over the physical world;" and after quoting from the article in question you assume that I believe in the power of legislation to change the natural law of moral and social development.

I certainly do think that man has a capacity for disturbing the operations of moral or social laws, which he does not possess over the laws of the material universe. For instance, man cannot change the specific gravity of water and thereby cause the disturbances which were outlined in the article, but manifestly he can disturb the operation of the laws of his own social development by legalizing the individual ownership of land and thus adding to the wealth and importance of one class by a corresponding deprivation of others. The same is true of the protective tariff. It is legalized by statute, and the individual's natural right to trade freely wherever he wills is made felony by legislative enactment.

It is not contended that man possesses the power to change the natural laws of his own development, but it is claimed that he can destroy the harmonious development of social groups by enlarging the opportunities of any portion of society; an augmentation of the privileges of one class must of necessity react in a diminution of the rights of others.

Justice is the resultant of the normal operation of moral forces, and implies that every benefit must be attended with its correlated duty. Justice is very properly symbolized by evenly balanced scales, but when legislation extends privileges to some, it can only do so by adding benefits which must be drawn from others, or by relieving of duties which are due to others, and thus the balance is disturbed and justice no longer rules, for by legislative enactment the equilibrium which should exist between benefits and duties is destroyed. And as I understand it, the very object of the single tax movement is to impose upon the land owner the duties which originally attached to the control of the land, but of which in modern times the land owner has been relieved, viz: To provide the revenues required by the state, which was the original basis of the feudal tenure.

Having attempted to substitute man's law for moral law, a readaptation follows, in which so-called morality takes the form of administering undue penalties upon the one hand and undeserved charities upon the other. In other words, having once disturbed the normal balance of the scales, the one side rises as the other falls, hence the moral and material development of society is polarized, leading to bitterness, discontent and unrest. And the equilibrium of social development can only be corrected by restoring the balance between benefits and duties, which can be done by the repealing of all legislation which aims to extend privileges or to relieve from natural duties. For example, the compendium of the tenth census shows that during the high protection period from 1870 to 1880 the wages of the coal miners were reduced thirty-three per cent, while the employment of boys in the mines increased over four hundred per cent. The terrible effect which must follow such a material condition of the masses is leading to an increased expenditure for school purposes.

Is it not manifest that the true solution of this problem is not more legislation, but less? For if the coal miner was relieved of the excessive taxation due to protection there would be no need to send children of tender years into the shafts and galleries of the mine, for the miner would be enabled to send his children to schools maintained by his own contribution. This disturbance caused by law can be partly remedied by a repeal of the law which has granted privileges to the manufacturing classes, and social conditions will be further advanced by neutralizing the effect of court decisions and statutes which have relieved the land owner of those duties which originally attended the feudal tenure. Since legislation is powerless to create new forces, it can only re-distribute benefits and duties; and as natural law provides that they shall co-exist, all attempts to improve society by legislation must fail, and to restore harmony and social order, legislative privileges now granted must be withdrawn, and all social and moral duties re-established, for thereby will be restored the equipoise of the scales of justice.

BENJAMIN REECE.

I wrote the criticism of which Mr. Reece complains. I did it conscientiously; trying to convey to my readers a correct idea of what Mr. Reece said in his essay, and an idea of the effect produced upon

my mind by reading it. And I think I did it fairly. Under ordinary circumstances, having made this explanation, I should express my regret for having misunderstood Mr. Reece's language and intentions, and drop the subject. I certainly have no desire to set up a supposititious Benjamin Reece, merely for the sake of criticising him.

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Reece's letter, while disputing my criticism, seems to me to really justify it. It would be idle for me to express regret for having misunderstood him, because his letter makes it clear, to my mind, that I have not misunderstood him at all. I said that it was evident that he had "a confused perception of the unvarying supremacy of natural law in morals as in physics." I think his letter justifies this statement, and shows that his perception of the invariability of moral law is very confused indeed. To speak plainly, I don't think he quite knows what he means himself. And in saying this I put no slur upon him. For there is no thinking man who is not, on some subjects, in just that condition of mind. In the chemistry of thought, turbidity generally precedes precipitation. Mr. Reece's only fault, I think, is that he has spoken too quickly. But all the same, he has spoken, on a subject of the highest importance, in a periodical whose reputation adds weight to what he says. I felt it right to criticise him; and I feel it, now more than ever, a duty to point out the contradictions involved in what he says.

Mr. Reece believes that corporations, as they now exist, are evil things. He also believes that "co-operation" would be a good thing. He thinks that corporations have come into being because the legislature has conferred on men who choose to co-operate under the form and title of a corporation the power to fix, by public announcement, a definite limit to their responsibilities for the debts of the corporation. And he writes an essay to prove that the legislature ought to remedy the evil it has done by enacting that hereafter every stockholder in a corporation shall be personally responsible for the whole of the corporation's debts.

So far Mr. Reece is perfectly within his rights. I think, indeed, that he is mistaken in most of his assumptions, and I haven't the faintest idea what he means by "co-operation." But he has a perfect right to his beliefs. It is only when he tries to justify his proposed legislative remedy by an appeal to the fundamental principles of moral law that I feel bound to cross swords with him.

Mr. Reece begins his essay by asserting (I quote the words of his letter, which put the idea in concise form) that "man has a capacity for disturbing the operations of moral or social laws which he does not possess over the laws of the material universe." I say he has not. I say he has just the same capacity for disturbing the operations of the one as of the other. No more, no less. All he can do in either case is to change the relative positions of men and things, so that the operation of natural law shall produce various results. The only difference is, that in the physical world the connection between cause and effect is usually more easy to be traced, and we therefore make fewer maladjustments of men and things to one another, though the maladjustments, as in the case of drainage systems, for example, are often sufficiently serious to produce very terrible results. The legalizing of individual land ownership, and the enactment of the protective tariff, to which Mr. Reece's letter refers as illustrations of man's superior capacity for disturbing the operations of moral or social laws, are maladjustments of men and things as truly as is the poisoning of a man by putting arsenic into his stomach, or the spread of typhoid fever by improper drainage. Man's ability of maladjustment is as great in one case as in the other. A whole nation could be poisoned with arsenic, or made to suffer with typhoid fever, just as easily as it can be made to suffer the evil effects of private land ownership and protection. The difference is that men have learned to trace the poisoning and fever to their causes, and so avoid or correct the maladjustments. But they have not yet learned to trace the connection between poverty, vice and crime, and private land ownership and protection.

Just think a little. The legislature is perfectly competent to enact a law compelling every man to connect his sleeping room with a sewer by an open, untrapped

pipe. It could make it the duty of a large and highly salaried corps of officials to lay and maintain the sewers, to test the quality of the sewer gas and make equal distribution of it, to inspect all sleeping rooms and connections, and to collect an immense revenue from the inhalers of the gas. It might defend the system by asserting that sewer gas, whenever the human system gets accustomed to it, is not a poison, but a highly efficacious tonic and restorative—a prolonger of human life—a necessity of American civilization. It could point with pride to the enormous number of people thus furnished with occupation—the unskilled laborers, the bricklayers, the plumbers, the surveyors, the engineers, the highly skilled physicians and the sympathetic undertakers. It might rejoice in the immense patronage thus developed, and reward distinguished patriots with appointments as commissioners of sewers, inspectors of gas, toxicological surveyors, bedchamber investigators, coroners and so forth. It might solemnly warn the people to beware how they touched the system, pointing out to them that, in spite of the outcry of ignorant and selfishly interested people, they *did* live under it and would therefore, beyond question, die if it were swept away or even modified. It might laud it as an American system, declare that those opposing it were bought with British free air gold, and forge an extract from the London Times, avowing that Britain's only use for an Irishman was as a voter against the malarial development of the United States. And in doing all this, the legislature would be doing just exactly what it does when it enacts a custom house tariff. It would be bringing men and things into a forced and unnatural relation with one another. It would be compelling men to breathe air that they didn't want to breathe, just exactly as it now compels them to eat sugar that they don't want to eat, to smoke cigars that they don't want to smoke, to wear clothes that they don't want to wear.

Society would laugh to scorn the idea of adopting the sewer gas system, because the individuals who compose society are thoroughly convinced that sewer gas is a poison, and that no human legislation can make it anything else. But society endures the protective system because its component individuals believe that though the legislature can not make sewer gas behave itself and be wholesome, it can compel a protective tariff to do good instead of harm. They believe "that man has a capacity for disturbing the operations of moral or social laws, which he does not possess over the laws of the physical universe." And that is precisely what Mr. Reece says he believes.

I dwell upon this point, not only because Mr. Reece's error is a very common one, but because it underlies and gives tone to his whole argument. His notion of the object of the single tax movement—"to impose upon the land owner the duties which originally attached to the control of the land" seems to me to be founded upon just this misconception. He has a confused notion that when society "allows" a man to use a piece of land, it somehow "does" something for him, and has a right to demand that he should "do" something in return. I think a little reflection would show him the folly of this idea. When society "allows" a man to apply the labor of his hands to the raw material of nature and produce corn for his food, it doesn't really "do" anything more for him than when it "allows" him to apply the labor of his lungs to the air, and produce oxygen for use in his arteries. Society can and does forcibly separate men from land, and so compels them to suffer and die for want of food. It can and does forcibly separate men from air, and so compels them to suffer and die for want of oxygen. It can and does forcibly separate men from markets, and so compels them to suffer for want of things that they would like to buy. But when it ceases these forcible maladjustments it doesn't create any benefits and confer them on men, any more than a reformed pickpocket makes and gives to its rightful owner the watch that he abstains from stealing. It simply abandons its foolish effort to rearrange the universe—to make wrong right, and right wrong. But surely that gives it no claim to gratitude or duty.

The single tax movement aims to impose no duties upon land owners. It only aims to make them stop taking what

doesn't belong to them. It is no part of the function of human justice to weigh benefits and duties, one against the other, and add or take away from either scale until the balance hangs even. Its only office is to secure to every man the enjoyment of equal freedom with every other man. It has nothing to do with conferring benefits, or enforcing performance of duties. God's justice will attend to all those matters. In a dim sort of way, I think, Mr. Reece recognizes this truth. He speaks in his essay of the evils of legislative enactments, and says in his letter that "the true solution of this problem is not more legislation, but less." But the idea of a humanly ordained moral law—of a legislative justice, granting benefits and exacting duties—is clearly uppermost in his mind. And the remedy which he advises for the specific evil of which he complains—the remedy whose justice he claims to have established by his argument—is simply the legislative imposition of a duty, to balance the legislative conferring of a privilege. More legislation, not less, is what he asks for. He says, in effect: "The legislature has conferred upon certain individuals the privilege of combining to form corporations. Hence great evils. But if the legislature will only balance the privilege by exacting certain duties from these individuals—making them personally responsible for the corporations' debts—then everything will be made right."

Consider the facts. The legislature enacted that individuals wishing to co-operate in production by associating themselves into corporations, should be allowed to fix by public announcement the limit of their individual liability for the corporations' debts. This was simply the removal of a restriction, a step towards freedom. For even if, for the sake of argument, it be admitted that it is part of the function of human justice to compel people to perform their contracts (which I deny), it is clearly no part of its duty to compel them to make contracts which they don't want to make. But that is just what the legislature did, so long as it refused to allow men forming corporations to limit their liability by public announcement. And this removal of a restriction—this step towards freedom—was followed, as such things always are, by an immediate benefit to humanity. Men co-operated more freely, united themselves into corporations more frequently, and the result has been a vast increase in, and economy of, production. It is true enough that the greater part of the increased product has been misappropriated. But the misappropriation is easily traceable to its cause in legislative repression of human rights, and the fact remains that the world is richer by far because of that one step in the direction of freedom—because of that one abandonment of the attempt to make moral law by human legislation.

And now, because he sees evils in the workings of the corporations, Mr. Reece demands that the old restriction be restored, that a backward step from freedom be taken, that the legislature put itself in opposition to nature, and try to enact a law of morals. And the supreme inconsistency of his position lies in this: that making himself the supreme law giver, he refuses to be bound even by the laws of which he has announced his own approval. He tells us in his letter that "all attempts to improve society by legislation must fail, and to restore harmony and social order legislative privileges now granted must be withdrawn." And yet he urges the granting of special legislative privileges to all creditors of corporations, and the correlative restriction of the freedom of the men who have united to form the corporations. And he wants to do this thing, in opposition to his own expressed convictions of right, because it will kill off the corporations, and he sees no other way of killing them. He has sat in judgment on them, forsooth, and doomed them to death. And because they are born of too much freedom, let freedom straightway be restricted. Who made Mr. Reece a judge of life and death for corporations any more than for individuals? Does not God reign and sit in judgment? Or does Mr. Reece think he can run the universe better than the Almighty Mind that made it and ordained its laws? Cannot he see that to strangle corporations by restricting the freedom of the individuals who compose them, is the same thing in essence as to strangle a child by tying a cord round its throat?

Or does he think to justify the crime by the calm announcement that "man has a capacity for disturbing the operations of moral or social laws which he does not possess over the laws of the material universe?"

Suppose I should say to Mr. Reece: "I quite agree with you that corporations are evil things that ought to be got rid of somehow. Your arguments have convinced me, and the only respect in which I disagree with you is that I don't think your remedy will be quite efficacious enough. Corporations existed before the limited liability 'privilege' was conferred on their stockholders, and I fear they will continue after it is taken away. But I have a plan to fix them. Make every stockholder take a heavy dose of castor oil three times every day and there will soon be an end to them." Mr. Reece would laugh at me. And yet for the life of me I cannot see any essential difference between my plan and his. He proposes to interfere with human freedom in one way, and I in another. He proposes to make men perform one set of "duties" in return for the "privilege" of a little more freedom, and I propose to make them perform another. Really, I don't see why, in the scales held by his Goddess of Justice my castor oil shouldn't have weight as well as his "personal liability."

Mr. Reece is not alone in this sort of confusion of thought. A very numerous body of citizens are sharers in it. The whole protectionist party, from President Harrison down to Elliott F. Shepard, believe, without knowing that they believe it, that a legislature can pass laws for the universe and make that right which God has said is wrong. They think, for example, that congress can compel two dollars less one dollar to equal three dollars. They act upon this belief, and pass laws based upon it, just as Mr. Reece would do if he had the power, and they repel the imputation that they hold any such belief just as vigorously as he does. The devil of protectionism is a cunning devil, and when he enters into a man he is very fond of protesting, through his victim's mouth, that he isn't there at all. But he is there, all the same. I think I detect him snugly stowed away in Mr. Reece's inwardness. It may be that I cannot exorcise him. But I should do wrong if I failed to warn Mr. Reece, and those who listen to Mr. Reece, against him, or to explain by what signs I recognize him.

Let Mr. Reece, and those who think as he thinks, turn their faces the other way. Let them look toward freedom, and cease to invoke repression. If they see evil resulting from the actions of corporations—and I, for one, have no thought of denying that evil does so result—let them seek the remedy in the removal of more restrictions, and not in the imposition of new ones. Let them dig down, and down, and down, flinging the restrictions aside, until they reach the bottom, and find there the parent and supporter of all the rest, the giant curb of freedom, the restriction that denies to men the equal right of access to the earth God made for them to live in, and on, and by. Why can't they give humanity a chance? Why not let nature alone—she knows her business? Then if "co-operation" be best for humanity, we shall have it; if corporations be evil, they will perish and pass away. But it is idle for us to flatter ourselves that we can cheat God, or repeal or modify his laws. Because we cannot do it.

T. L. MCCREADY.

#### Getting What They Voted For.

SOUTH MANCHESTER, Mass.—A month ago the men in Cheney Brothers silk manufactory in this place had their wages cut down 25 cents per day. A week ago the pay of the female help was reduced 50 cents per week. They are expecting to get it back, but I don't believe they will. Cheney intends to get rid of considerable of his male help and replace them with female help. I was in Thompsonville, Conn., last week. There are a few people idle there in the carpet factory on account of the firm putting new machinery into their building. After the new machinery is fitted up one-half of the help only will be necessary. But what difference does all this make to the American people? Have you not heard what Blaine said? He said that protection puts the bread and butter into the mouths of the American people, and when he said so, what is the use of single tax George cranks trying to refute the statement? JOHN CAIRNS.

#### Please Explain This.

Indianapolis Sentinel.  
Wages are being reduced in the protected industries all over the country. The employees of the protected industries are certainly entitled to an explanation.

#### AN AVENUE STOREKEEPER.

One afternoon in the summer of 1884 I was walking up Seventh avenue, from Forty second street to the park. On the way I stopped at a little cigar store, which, it is perhaps hardly necessary to say, was run by a German. The proprietor and I started a conversation in the well-known German-American tongue, and all went as smoothly as an Atkinsonian syllogism as long as we dwelt on such subjects as the spots on the tattooed man or the efficacy of the inner curve in baseball. Suddenly, inspired probably by thoughts that originated in a recent reading of "Progress and Poverty," I asked the cigar man how he made out in a business way, and the conversation began at once to grow animated. It was the old story of the avenue shopkeeper. To put it in the cigar man's language: "Dot landlordt, he gets alles. He gomes not here himself. He vas rich, und haf all done mit dose achents." It was what might have been expected. The agent had periodically screwed up the rent just as fast as the little business grew, and although the poor wretch sold a ten-cent cigar for eight cents, and made other discounts to catch trade, still "Dot land-lordt, he got alles."

Then he went on to say that he had come from Germany a dozen or more years ago. He got work in a cigar factory. At the same table with him worked a fellow countryman who was now a well to do cigar manufacturer. I asked the man how it was that his friend got rich. Well, he left the place and started in at the time when the big concerns had not yet got the competition crushing power they had now, and as soon as he got along he began to employ other men. "Und dot vas how he gets rich. He haf oder men to vork for him." By this time the little cigar man was as excited as if I had talked of a French invasion of Alsace-Lorraine. "Ya," he said, "dot vas how he gets dot big blace. He go outt und dose oder men vork for him. He makes gute geschafte. Efery von vot vants to know rich must do dot, dann kommt er foran; ya, ya, he must oder men haf to vork for him, dann kommt er foran."

After a brief attempt to show the cigar man that the landlord who got his rent through an agent and had none of the dirty work to do, was even better fixed than his old friend who grew rich by the more or less risky business of manufacturing, I withdrew, leaving him in the doorway of his \$45 a month castle. If a stray copy of "Progress and Poverty" in German has managed to fall into his hands since then, I feel sure he is now an eloquent single tax orator, with a fund of personal experience to draw on for illustration. If not, no doubt Karl Marx has him hard and fast, and he is trying to down "dose kapitalisten," among them his friend the manufacturer.

W. B. SCOTT.

#### More Numerous Than Was Expected.

The Brockwayville, Pa., Record prints the single tax petition to congress and says:

This is the doctrine of taxation commonly known as the Henry George plan, from the fact that he is the leader of a movement to introduce it to public attention. The petition is not one that asks much—simply that congress appoint a committee to make a full inquiry into this "single tax" doctrine, yet very few people had any idea that it would receive many signatures. There a great mistake was made. A number of prominent men in the town felt in with the idea at once, and it is estimated that more than a hundred names have been signed and sent in. It cannot be said that these are all advocates of the single tax. Some signatures are those of men who are willing to try anything for a change. Some, a very few, signed the petition because they were asked to. Others sign it because they like fair play well enough to accord it a hearing. But besides all these there are many who signed the petition because they believe that a distinction should be made between taxing a man upon his industry and upon the appropriation of natural resources. These latter who do not believe that a man should bear the burden because he is industrious, while those who live by the labor of others, are more numerous than anybody had any idea of before the petitions began to circulate.

#### Inequality of Taxation.

Ocala, Fla., Daily Banner.

The objection to taxing chattels is not that none of them can be taxed; it is that so many of them can be and are reached, while so many are not, that the tax is necessarily unequal and unjust.

#### Trying to Crawl Through a Small Hole.

Brooklyn Standard-Union.

No doubt the free trade newspapers will try to point a moral with their story of the "shut down" of fifty mills at about Fall River, Mass.; but if their anti tariff theory had won in the recent election the "shut down" might be not merely of fifty, but of all in existence.

## UPPER AND LOWER CRUSTS

John Banks was restless. He chafed under the restraint which conventionality forced upon him in compelling his attendance at the ball. His greetings to acquaintances were short, and his replies to them sometimes irrelevant. There was a preoccupied expression in his eye. He gave but passing heed to the brilliant scene before him—the mirror-like floor; the graceful palms and the blossoms of an infinite variety of beautiful hues; the multitude of radiant faces; the rich raiments; the flashing gems; the fluttering fans. He lent a deaf ear to the hum of happy voices and the music of low laughter. Nor was he more than momentarily roused when the great orchestra burst into a flood of harmony that swayed a thousand responsive hearts in the ecstasy of the waltz or led them lightly through the stately measures of the quadrille.

Plainly his thoughts were elsewhere.

For he was a man of large affairs, was John Banks; executor of a dozen great enterprises and millionaire several times over. As a young man he had dreamed the dream of democracy. He had started out fired with hope and high purpose. He had longed to shine in the eyes of his fellow men and win their hearts. And he had worked hard. But somehow his course was early diverted. He was led far from the straight way on which he had set out, until now, at something short of forty, he had quite forgotten the ambition of his early manhood. A desire had grown up in him not so much for vast wealth as for the exercise of power. And he had obtained his wish. He was drunk with consciousness of his strength. With a word he could begin the movement of a vast enterprise as a pebble is loosened at the crest of a mountain, and gathering stones as it rolls, precipitates an avalanche of boulders to the bottom. What was democracy and patriotism? Who were the people? when a few men such as he could make and unmake kings?

Who were the people anyway? He did not know them. He had left them far behind on the road and had forgotten that they were travelers like himself. He had never stopped to think about the matter. He had shut out all save two things from his mind, namely, that fortune favors the strong and that vigilance is the price of power.

And so he could not brook restraint. Despite its brilliance and magnificence the scene about him hung like a pall upon his thoughts. As soon as he could he freed himself from obligations and slipped away—out into the open air.

In front of the building, under the glare of electric lights, stood a crowd of people gazing curiously at the guests as they drove up. John Banks wrapped his coat about him, for the night was chilly, and lighting a cigar, strode apart from the confusion to reconsider some plans for the morrow. A loud voice in the crowd caused him to turn. A drunken fellow was holding parley with one of the policemen stationed to keep a passage clear from the curb to the steps for the accommodation of the guests. On the man's shabby clothes were the dirt marks of a fall. But he had lost his every day, poor, hang-dog submissiveness. Drink had fired up in him the aggressiveness of the successful man.

"Git out of my way," he cried at the functionary. He received a rough thrust for an answer.

"Look a-here, young feller"—his speech was cut short by two officers, who hustled him away through the darkness.

"Some poor devil's idea of a good time," said Banks, to himself. "I wonder what such a life is like?"

The words had hardly passed his lips when a dizziness came over him. Something in his head seemed to snap and a shivering sensation went all over his person, followed by a tingling of his nerves and a slight chill.

Before he had quite recovered from the shock of these sensations he found himself moving toward the group of gazers at the door. He did not know why, and was somewhat surprised at himself, and still more so when he had pushed his way through the mass and stood face to face with a policeman. The officer scowled and roared out: "Ah, what's the matter with you? Why don't yer keep back? Want ter git yer head broke?"

Instead of resenting this indignity, to his unbounded astonishment he found himself cowering under the threat—he,

even he, John Banks, whose word would stand for a king's ransom.

"Have I lost my wits?" he said to himself as he shrank back through the crowd.

"No," came a clear and distinct answer from within him.

"Am I incapable of resenting an insult?"

"Under the circumstances, yes," came the clear and distinct answer again.

"Who am I then?"

"Who, indeed, more than any other man in the crowd?"

He now stood alone under a street light.

"Who, indeed, am I?" said the voice within him, with bitter irony. And he bent over and surveyed his person in the light of the lamp. To his utter bewilderment instead of the well dressed John Banks he saw in himself a meanly clad man—his black coat threadbare and faded, his trousers bunched at the knees and tattered at the bottoms; his shoes run over on the sides and curled at the toes.

"Can I believe my eyes?" he muttered, half aloud.

"Believe my eyes?" came the response from within him. "Why, of course, whose eyes shall I believe?"

"But the change?"

"There is no change."

"I mean my clothes."

"The clothes are the same. There is no change there, nor anywhere else. Jack Smith is Jack Smith, the same dull penny, and since Jack can find small profit in stopping here he had better go home!" He started off, forthwith, without hesitation, as if he perfectly well understood where he was going.

There was no stopping himself. His will was active, and it willed him to stop, but he didn't. The fact is, he couldn't stop. There was another will within him stronger than his own, and it willed him to go on; and on he went.

"I'm late to-night," said the strange voice, and his legs quickened their pace. The air seemed to have got colder, and whenever he came to a cross street a gust of wind sent a chill straight through him. The streets were sunk in silence, save where a noisy song or boisterous laughter came from a liquor shop in passing. He met a policeman leisurely strolling over his beat.

"Good evening."

"Good evening."

"It's getting colder."

"Yes, it seems to be."

Then the policeman was gone—lost behind in the darkness. The houses rose on each side like great stone walls, the doorways and windows looking like square black holes cut into them. An occasional lamp showed a patch of brown stone or brick; but the light passed, the houses became great black walls again. And they grew higher as he sped on, and the number of square holes increased, and about them were cage-like balconies. At one place a garment fluttering in the wind seemed, in the uncertain light, like a thing of ill-omen beckoning him to come up! come up! come up!

"Where in the name of heaven am I going?" asked the hurrying figure within himself.

"Home, of course," promptly answered the strange voice. The voices lapsed into silence and the man sped on. At length he stopped, counted the doorways, and then deliberately walked into one of the black holes in the wall. Straight ahead and far away a faint light showed the entrance to the hallway from the other street.

He groped about in the darkness for the stairway. His outstretched foot struck something which he took for the lower step. He raised the other foot, planted it, leaned forward and reached out for the guiding baluster. But his foot pressed something soft, something that moved under the pressure, and a sudden jerk threw him off his balance and sprawled him out on the stone floorway in the darkness. There was a loud oath and somebody roughly seized hold of him. Over and over they went on the hard flagging in the darkness until with a violent wrench the home comer found himself and jumped back. He fell against the stairs. Grasping the baluster he darted up as fast as his legs could carry him.

"That's the second time I've walked over that man," the strange voice said as he stood panting on an upper landing.

When he had climbed another flight of stairs he crossed the hall diagonally and felt for a door. His key wouldn't turn the lock. He pulled it out and felt it. Yes, it was the right key. He was about to try again when a little round

window in the door flew open and a flood of blinding light streamed straight into his eyes.

"What d'yer want?" demanded a gruff voice through the opening.

"I guess I'm in the wrong place," stammered the home comer.

"Git out o' this; to —" —the little window, closing with a snap, cut off the remainder of the imprecation, and again the place was in utter darkness. While he ascended another flight of stairs he heard the rattle of machinery and, reaching the top step, he saw an open door, which led through a narrow passage to a room beyond, which was dimly lighted up by a shaded lamp. The lamp hung low and threw its beams full upon a man bending over a sewing machine. Garments lay about in heaps. The whirl and clatter of the machine drowned the sound of approaching footsteps, but a hand touching his shoulder caused the operator to stop and look up with a start.

"You're killing yourself, Ben."

"I couldn't sleep," answered the man at the machine. "I must have money. The rent is in arrears and you know what it means to be set out in the street. I'm nerved up to it and I'll get through."

He started the machine up again and made it buzz for a few moments. Then he stopped and slowly straightened up. Much bending had made his back stiff. He passed his thin, misshapen fingers through his long, black locks, and looked up with troubled face.

"It isn't myself," he said in a low tone. "It's her I'm working for," and he waved his hand toward a door standing ajar. "I could shift easy enough for myself. But she—" he stopped short and grasped his friend's arm, drawing him close.

"What would become of her if I should die?" he whispered. A cold sweat stood out on his white forehead. He loosened his hold and threw himself forward on the machine, hiding his face between his arms. His friend stooped over him and said something. The man straightened up at once.

"I'm a coward, Jack," he said simply.

"It must be the work that does it."

As he spoke he stood up and raised one side of the lamp shade so that there was better light in the passage. The friends shook hands without a word and parted, the one to resume his work for a while longer, the other to seek his apartments, which he found adjoining. Just inside the door he found a little lamp on the floor, burning low. He stooped, raised it, turned up the wick and passed through into the sleeping apartment. Three little ones lay peacefully sleeping together on a mattress on the floor. A haggard faced young woman lay in a bed beside the mattress.

The man looked at them intently for a moment.

"What would become of them if I should die?"

He shook his head nervously as if to free himself from the thought, and blowing out the lamp flung himself upon the bed without undressing. Soon he lost consciousness in slumber.

At least, that was one experience. At the moment he lost consciousness he had another experience. It was a dizziness, accompanied by a feeling that something had snapped in his head and then a sensation of expansion all over him, from crown to heel. Again he felt every inch the John Banks who for nearly forty years he had had good reason to know so well. And he stood just inside the threshold of the reception room of his own suite of apartments with the glowing coals in the open grate, bathing the familiar upholstery and hangings and rugs, and even the brass inkstand on the table with carved legs, in a soft, mellow light.

A short, stout, plainly dressed man, sprawled out in a large easy chair drawn up before the fire, lay dreaming of his home and loved ones beyond the seas.

The man at the threshold crossed the room with hasty, nervous strides to the fire place.

"Thompson!" he called impatiently, as he threw off his hat and coat and drew off his gloves.

The sleeper opened his eyes and at once scrambled to his feet.

"Yes, sir," he answered in low, submissive tones.

"Bring a light, Thompson."

Thompson lit a large brass lamp with a dark shade.

"Remove the shade."

Thompson carefully lifted the shade off and placed it on a side table.

"Now look at me closely," said the gen-

tleman at the fireplace. "Do I look drunk?"

Thompson started perceptibly and falteringly replied, "No, sir."

"Feel my pulse."

Thompson did so with increased astonishment.

"Is there anything unusual about it?"

"No, sir."

"I'm. Well, I don't know where I've been, but I've had a bad night of it. I'll want you no further. Good night."

Thompson left the room and closed the door quietly behind him.

The man at the fireplace stood there for a long time lost in meditation. His mind was busy with the night's events. "What becomes of all those wretches huddled together like cattle?" he thought. "What if they should rise up and come out of that?" He lapsed into silence. Then came the picture of the despairing form at the sewing machine.

"Were I in his place," he muttered fiercely, "some one in this world would suffer till I had my wife out of barn's way! But it's all a trick of the brain. Away with it!"

He went over to the lamp and snuffed out the light. Then he wearily went in to his sleeping apartment.

JOHN GREY.

## Please Tell Where This "Broad Prairie" Is.

LYNN, MASS., Dec.

The emigrant has only to take his gripsack and jump on board a train, and in less than a week be landed on the broad prairie, whose soil has never been broken for cultivation, and luxuriant vegetation springs forth as by enchantment from the magician's wand.

## Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all throat and lung affections, also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints, after having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellow-men. Acted upon by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge, to all who desire it, this recipe, in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing and using. Sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 149 Power's block, Rochester, N. Y.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

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## QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

**FALL RIVER.**—During a discussion of the land value tax recently held in this city, I contended that under the single tax system the state would become the owner only in the sense that it would receive most of the rental value in the form of taxes instead of a small portion thereof as at present; and that individual ownership would continue to exist, the private owner of land having the right to sell, lease or devise the same, or make other lawful use of it, subject only to the payment of taxes, just as at present. Other speakers claimed that I did not state the matter correctly, and said that the new system involved state ownership of the land, which would be rented out by the state to the highest bidder, and individual ownership would be abolished. They cited numerous passages from "Progress and Poverty" to the effect that the land should "belong to the people," and that private ownership was wrong. Please answer whether or not I was right. I admit that in either case the state would derive all, or nearly all, the benefit arising from the bare land, just as *cestui que trust* derives the benefit from a trust estate while the legal title and right of control is in another as trustee. Still, this qualified right to control, retain or dispose of land is dearly cherished by our race. Is its preservation to be a part of the new system?

E. HIGGINSON.

You were right. If you examine the passages quoted against you from "Progress and Poverty" you will find that they occur in discussions of the abstract question of the right of ownership, a question which must be considered and settled before the details of practical application can be intelligently discussed. When we want good practice we must begin with sound theory. The lawyer or doctor who neglects or ignores this rule is apt to get his clients into the poor house or his patients into the grave. But when in "Progress and Poverty" the mode of applying the principle is presented, state ownership is expressly rejected, and individual ownership, subject to a tax which would eventually appropriate rent to public use, is recommended.

If you turn to the Eighth Book, where the application of the proposed remedy is discussed, you will find in the second chapter, that while the author says we should satisfy justice and meet all economic requirements by abolishing private titles at a stroke, and letting the land out to the highest bidder under such conditions as would sacredly guard the private right to improvements, he declares as distinctly as the English language permits, that this would involve a needless shock to present customs and habits of thought, which is to be avoided; and therefore he proposes, while taking rent for public use, to allow individuals to continue to hold what they are pleased to call their land. Nor, in taking the rent, would he assume the chances of the favoritism, collusion and corruption that state leasing might involve, but would appropriate it through taxation by abolishing all other taxes. In this connection "Progress and Poverty" answers your question by saying, "In this way the state may become the universal landlord without calling herself so, and without assuming a single new function. In form the ownership of land would remain just as now. No owner of land need be dispossessed, and no restriction need be placed on the amount of land anyone could hold."

The right to control, retain and dispose of land, which, as you truly say, is dearly cherished by our race, would not only be preserved by the single tax—it would be perfected. Now, only the fortunate few can enjoy this cherished right without going far away from the benefits and enjoyments of civilized life, but under the single tax every man who wanted to would be able to control, retain and dispose of land.

L. F. P.

### Taxation in China.

**COATESVILLE, Pa.**—In an argument with the burgess of this town, we drifted to the government of China. He insisted that in China all taxes were collected from the value of land. I said it could not be true, but what system they have I could not tell him. So I would be much obliged if you would enlighten us on that subject.

PETER KART.

China levies no taxes whatever on land values. In theory, all land is supposed to belong to the emperor—one of whose principal titles is "Lord of the Soil"—and all titles to land are in the shape of perpetual leases. Every lease provides for the payment of a very small ground rent, and to this extent there is a tax on land; but this tax is invariable, and has no relation to the value of the land.

After the capture of Peking, and the

disgraceful sack of the Summer palace, which ended the opium war, France, England and the United States joined in exacting a very considerable indemnity from the Chinese government. As China had no money and no credit it was impossible that this indemnity should be paid in cash. It was, therefore, provided by treaty that a certain fixed tariff of customs duties should be levied at all the treaty ports, under the supervision of approved Europeans; and that out of these duties the indemnities should be paid. This tariff was, and is, a curiosity. All goods intended for consumption by foreigners were admitted free. Foreign manufactures were either made free, or very lightly taxed; but heavy export and import duties were laid on Chinese produce and on opium, and trade between the different Chinese ports was subjected to heavy imposts—a very considerable duty, for example, being collected on shipments of rice from one port to another. The original object of this customs establishment has long since been accomplished; the indemnities were paid off years ago. But the Chinese government found the duties so methodically collected under foreign supervision, and the revenue from them so unexpectedly large, that they have kept the system going—tariff, foreign collectors and all.

Besides these regular customs duties, additional taxes on commerce are collected by the local officials of the various provinces, at what are called "squeeze stations." These are established wherever the local mandarins think they can be most conveniently operated, and the tariff is a variable one—the merchant endeavoring to pay as little as possible, and the mandarin trying to get all the traffic will bear. Very little of the money collected at these irregular custom houses finds its way into the imperial coffers.

Another source of revenue is the tax on individuals. When a man becomes conspicuously rich, he is invited to testify his loyalty and patriotism by a contribution. He generally accepts the invitation.

Still another tax is levied by the pirates who swarm upon the rivers and along the coasts, and by the government gunboats appointed, nominally, to put down piracy.

All this by no means exhausts the list of Chinese taxes; but I think it is sufficient to warrant you in assuring your burgess that in China all taxes are not levied upon land values.

T. L. McCREADY.

### International Trusts—Wages.

**COVINGTON, Kas.**—(1) Under free trade what would prevent American manufacturers from forming "trusts" with foreign manufacturers, as they do now with each other?

(2) A high protectionist asserted that high wages in this country were not due to our easy access to natural opportunities, as some other countries that pay much lower wages than we do have as easy access to natural opportunities as we have. Is this so, and if so, state where?

INQUIRER.

(1) Nothing except the almost insuperable difficulties of organizing such trusts in any businesses except those founded on natural or artificial monopolies.

(2) In saying that our wages are higher than elsewhere on account of our easier access to land, we mean that our workmen get a larger proportion of what they produce. Of course, in some places where the workmen have absolutely free access to land, as in an African jungle, they eat plain food and do not dress at all—that is to say, their wages are small; but they produce scarcely anything, and each man gets all he produces. They are, moreover, independent, and do not need to fret about what the morrow may bring forth.

### What Will Become of the Landlord?—Shifting the Land Tax.

**NEW CASTLE, Del.**—(1) I know a man living in Wilmington who owns six farms. He doesn't work any of them himself, but lives in the city off their rents. What effect would the single tax have on him? Could he still live off other people's labor?

(2) Suppose a man rents a house, can't his landlord shift the tax the same as he does now?

JOHN KINNY.

The farms are undoubtedly more or less improved. Very likely there is fully as much value in improvements, such as fences, barns, drainages, dwelling houses, etc., as there is in the land itself. All these improvements would have a selling value after the single tax went in force, just as they have now, and the money the owner got for these improvements might be sufficient to support him. It is doubtful, however, whether many people would care to try and make a living by renting out the improvements on a farm. There is far too much risk that they would be returned in worse repair than when

they were hired. The probability is that the actual farmers who now rent would buy out the owner's improvements, paying perhaps in installments. In this case the owner, if he could not loan his money very easily, would have to engage in productive industry himself.

(2) The land tax is not shifted now, that is to say, if you mean by "shifting" that the tenant pays more rent because the land is taxed. Rent is the proceeds of a taxing privilege which the government gives to land owners. The land owner taxes the tenant all the land is worth. At present the government takes away from the landlord only a part of this rent tax that he collects from the tenant. Under the single tax the government would take it all, but that would not make the tenant able to pay more to the landlord. Of course, the tax the landlord pays to the government is collected from the tenant, but this is not what is meant by "shifting a tax." This phrase means that the tax is added to the price, and if the tax is raised the price is raised. This is the case with a tax on a product such as a hat. If there were a tax on hats no one would make hats unless he could add the tax to the price, as the profits on hat making would be less than in other industries. But land is not a product. The price for the use of land is always at the highest point the tenant can afford to pay, and taxing away this price or rent does not give the landlord the power to make it higher.

W. B. SCOTT.

### Notes.

R. C. asks for the history of the poem entitled "The factory child's last day." Can any of our readers give him the information he wants?

### NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

#### Sugar and Molasses Used to Harden Mortar.

The London Engineer gives a very interesting account of the use of sugar in the mixing of mortar for brick work. The results were most satisfactory, the mortar hardening much quicker and resisting the effects of frost and heat most satisfactorily. One pound of coarse brown sugar to sixteen gallons of water is, if anything, more than is necessary. Molasses also has been used.

#### Discovery of a Lost Art.

Professor Fouque recently communicated an important discovery which he had just made to the French Academie des Sciences regarding the famous blue pigment known as *caeruleum*, used by the Ancient Romans for wall decoration. It has been found in the frescoes at Pompeii, deep worn and lustrous, but the art appears to have been lost on the invasion of Rome. Modern chemists have often tried to reproduce it, but beyond discovering that it contained copper they were entirely unsuccessful. M. Fouque's investigations show that it was a compound of silicate of copper and silica, which may be prepared with silica, oxide of copper, and lime, with or without fluxes. Working with extreme care, he produced an exact chemical combination, which is neither a glass nor an enamel, composed of perfectly definite crystals of deep sky blue when viewed from the surface, and pale rose edgewise. The difficulty in producing it lies in attaining the right degree of heat, which must not exceed a bright red intensity, as a higher temperature merely converts it into a coarse green glass. It is absolutely air and waterproof when applied to walls, and will stand boiling with sulphuric acid or potash lye, as well as quicklime and hydrogen sulphide. M. Fouque thinks it will be of great commercial and decorative value, and is ready to assist in its manufacture.—[London Echo.

#### Peach Stones for Fuel.

They have so many peach stones in Vaca valley, California, that they have had to invent some way to get rid of them. It occurred to some one that peach pits will burn, so he tried it, and sure enough they made a warm fire. Of course every hull or shell of fruit, or stone of this kind, possesses oil in a great degree. The meat of all nuts will burn, and wholes nut will make a splendid fire if enough of them are used.

#### Electric Snow Plows.

The Sprague company, who control the Sprague system of electric railroads now used so extensively, are now equipping snow plows, to be operated by powerful electric motors, so that no snow, however deep, will be able to stop the running of the cars. It is estimated that these electric plows will clear the tracks quicker than an ordinary plow drawn by a dozen horses.

#### Must the Piano Go?

It does seem as if the piano had reached about the end of its tether. Its compass has been extended to the utmost acoustical limits, and it has been improved until there appears to be no more room for improvement. The virtuosi of the present day have attained, practically, perfection in execution, and the compositions of Chopin, Schumann, Liszt, Tausig and Rubinstein are as difficult as any music can be which is capable of being performed on the piano by a single pair of hands. Then what next? Nature abhors a vacuum and art abhors a halt. There is no use in doing over again what has been done already well enough. We must be original. We must advance. We must invent new lines or

new ideas in composition, or else not compose at all. We must play better, or at least try to play better, than Rubinstein or Von Bulow or Joseffy, or else confess ourselves mere sciolists and imitators. This is the spirit of the true artist—of true art. But it is hard to see how there can be any further progress in piano music or piano playing. In this crisis, however, it is allowable to hope to see before long some new instrument no larger, no costlier, no harder to master than the piano, which shall combine the string principle and the wind principle, and unite the best qualities of the piano and the organ—in other words, a miniature or microcosmic orchestra. Such an instrument would be unhampered by the great deficiency of the piano, which is an inability to sustain notes, or rather to sustain some tones while not sustaining others; and when such an instrument is invented there certainly will arise a new group of performers, altogether distinct from the present piano virtuosi, and musical composition will take a fresh start on a line of absolute novelty and originality.—[German Musical Journal.

#### New Method of Engraving Glass.

M. Plante, a distinguished French electrician, has recently invented a process of engraving on glass in which electricity takes an important part. The surface to be engraved is first covered with a solution of nitrate of potash, and is then connected with one of the poles of a battery. By means of a platinum point, the figure to be engraved is then traced upon the surface of the glass. It is said that this method secures a delicacy of outline which has not been attained by any other.

#### Electric Lighting by Municipalities. Real Estate Record and Guide.

The entrance of municipalities into the field of electric lighting is the latest form in which the advantages derived from city control of certain public works have been made manifest. The movement thus far has been confined principally to the smaller cities, although the larger cities, as Chicago and Detroit, are beginning to recognize that the element of size is not necessarily a bar to their entrance upon the same course. Reports from twenty-two cities, which own and operate their own electric lighting plants, show that in each individual case the plan has worked satisfactorily. Definite information received from eighteen of these cities regarding the net cost of light per night for each are light is presented here:

	Cents.		Cents.
Aurora, Ill.	15.3	Lyons, Ia.	8.2
Day City, Mich.	16.7	Madison, Ind.	12.5
Champaign, Ill.	12.3	Michigan City, Ind.	12
Chicago, Ill.	15	Farmerville, Ohio	10.6
Decatur, Ill.	13.7	Paris, Ill.	10.4
Dunkirk, N. Y.	13.5	Portsmouth, Ohio	10
Easton, Pa.	27.5	Topeka, Kansas	20
Grand Lodge, Mich.	1.5	Ypsilanti, Mich.	11.2
Huntington, Ind.	13.7		
Lewiston, Maine	14	Average cost per night	13.4

It is seen that, of these eighteen cities, seven are able to furnish their own electric light at a cost of twelve cents or under for each are light of 2,000 candle-power per night, nine at a cost of between twelve and sixteen cents per night, and two at a cost of above sixteen cents. The low net cost in Lyons, Iowa, and in Grand Lodge, Mich., is due to the fact that these cities own and operate commercial wires from which they derive a profit. The full significance of these statistics is revealed when a comparison is made between the cost of the same light under private and municipal control. Fortunately a comparison can be made, as five of these cities previous to assuming control of their own works were supplied with light by private companies. The cost of each are light per night under both systems of control is given here in tabular form:

	Private.	City.
Day City, Michigan	27.5 cents.	16 cents.
Farmerville, Ohio	16.7 "	10.6 "
Huntington, Indiana	39 "	13.7 "
Lewiston, Maine	51 "	14 "
Aurora, Illinois	59.5 "	15.3 "
Average per night	45.1 cents.	13.9 cents.

To make these statistics accurate, it should be stated that in Lewiston, under private control, the lights burned only half the night. It is seen from these figures that in five cities the minimum saving which follows the change from private to public ownership and management of electric lighting plants was nearly one-half, and the maximum saving nearly five-sixths of the former charge.

#### The Bishop and One of His Sheep.

London Church Reformer.

In the East London Church Chronicle the bishop of Bedford calls upon us to "learn thrift from an old lady, who lives in Whitechapel. Her rent is paid for her, and her weekly allowance consists of relief tickets for: 56 lbs. of coal, 1 4-lb. loaf, 2 ozs. tea, 1/4 lb. of sugar, and one shilling. The shilling is spent as follows: Clothing card 2d., oil and wood 1d., meat 3d., soap 1d., butter 2 1/2d., vegetables 1 1/2d., apples (for dumplings) 1/4d., flour 1/4d.

"The 'meat' means either bones or the trimmings of fish and meat from an eating-house. She and another old woman put by one lump of coal each week, and this lasts them through the summer months, when the coal tickets are not given out."

Would it not be more to the purpose to call upon East London churchmen to work for the abolition of a social system which condemns any old lady, whether in Whitechapel or Mayfair, to subsist on such starvation fare as this? It would be interesting to place by the side of the above the weekly bill of fare which the old lady would have enjoyed had she picked the bishop's pocket and been sent to gaol.

#### The Cyclone Country Differs.

Minneapolis Journal.

THE STANDARD, Henry George's paper, does not like President Harrison's figure in which he said, speaking of the movement of the center of population westward: "That which was once the body"—meaning the eastern population—"has come to be only the rich fringe of the nation's robe." Some of us thought that a very happy expression, but it does not seem to suit THE STANDARD's cultivated single tax free trade taste.

PERSONAL.

T. Unnever, a popular young member of the Manhattan single tax club, was stricken with paralysis while traveling out west. He is now lying at the New York hospital, and would be glad to have his friends call on him, so as to some extent relieve his loneliness.

Charles O. Allen, secretary of the West Side single tax club, is sick with a touch of pleurisy.

Daniel R. Goodloe, of Washington, whose name is familiar to THE STANDARD readers, visited THE STANDARD office last week. He feels much encouraged over the progress of single tax affairs in Washington. Mr. Goodloe is just now, by correspondence, sending the light into the dark places in the south. The Raleigh, N. C., Chronicle prints a letter from him a column and a half long.

G. W. Everett, whose many little gifts ornament the mantels and walls of the Manhattan single tax club in New York, is the inventor of a device for preventing window drafts. Architects and builders who have examined the invention approve of it highly, and during the coming building season it will be included among the specifications in many contracts for new buildings. Mr. Everett's patent is this: The parting strip, on each side of which the windows slide, is grooved. In the side of each window sash, resting against the grooved parting strip is a long, narrow slot. Into this slot is set a thin rubber tape similar to the weather strips now tacked around the window sash. About a half inch of this tape projects loosely from the sash into the grooved strips, against which it presses, and this prevents any draft from entering in on the sides, while, by its use, the window sash can rest close to the strip—a thing impossible with the old weather strip. The point at which the upper and lower window sashes meet is also made air tight by applying the same idea—that is, to make a slot in one of the meeting rails and putting in the rubber tape. A window furnished with Mr. Everett's device is said by all who are using it to be positively air tight. The rattling of the window sashes is wholly obviated; for the rubber tape, being pliable, always rests against the opposite sash or groove. The device is simplicity itself, and the cost of applying it is nominal.

W. J. Terwilliger, of Mount Vernon, had a letter in the New York World of last Friday, thanking that paper for the fair treatment it is giving to the single taxists.

W. W. Kile, of Dayton, Ohio, has a letter in a late issue of the Dayton Workman, commenting on an article in Harper's Weekly on the negro; and he points out what in his opinion will settle the vexed southern question of the negro vote: "Restore the land to the people, make it possible for all men and women and children in the United States to have a home of their own, and possible for all to earn a living without first asking permission of some one else, and men (both white and black) will maintain their right to vote and to have their votes counted as cast."

In the Chicago Statesman for March, A. H. Hennemann has an article on "Protection, or Free Trade—Which?" His argument is on the free trade side.

Gazzam Gano of Cincinnati last week read a paper before the board of trade of that city in which he declared that the state cannot expect complete relief until the constitution is amended so as to give the general assembly unlimited power of taxation so as to adapt it to changing conditions. He said: "It is an established fact that even an approximate value of personal property does not get upon the tax duplicate, and that in consequence there is a growing disposition to favor the single tax system."

W. H. Van Ornum has an article on "International Copyright" in the current number of the Chicago Statesman.

The Labor Leader of March 2 had a communication from "Union Printer" criticising the position taken by Henry George in his address before the Boston typographical union. In the following issue H. P. Garrity answers "Union Printer." By the way, it is to be noticed that the advocates of the single tax sign their letters while the opponents generally use a nom de plume.

The editor of the Zanesville, Ohio, Times-Recorder when he began criticising the single tax idea woke up bigger game than he intended to gun for, and now he is up a tree. Hear him: "We are compelled to ask our single tax correspondents to compress their arguments in the future. The subject is inexhaustible, and everyone with the ability to marvel can find arguments ad infinitum. It is natural that every one should want to be heard."

The Middletown, Conn., Constitution has started a "Social studies" department, in which it proposes to discuss the economic questions of the day.

The Denver, Col., Arbitrator, of March 9 is filled almost to bursting with letters pro and con on the single tax. The first column on the first page is headed with a poem by Mrs. Susan Young entitled "Truth and right." Then comes "Edgeworth" with an attack on Henry George and the single tax; then an article on "The origin of modern land tenures," by John Gillies; then a column of "Society notes" from THE STANDARD; then a letter from Fred Mathison, in which he shows that

freeing the land will solve the industrial and social questions; then a short but sharp letter from John J. McClermont of Aspen in which he attacks the editor of the Arbitrator for quibbling over small matters while discussing a great question; then "Melrose" wants the land question put aside until the money question is settled; then John C. Dana has a letter on "Natural rights."

James B. Hassett of Anaheim, Cal., has a letter in favor of the single tax in a late number of the San Francisco Free Thought.

J. W. Frey of Arkansas has presented the Rogers Academy with a copy of "Progress and Poverty." In his letter presenting the book, he says: "Will those who peruse this work kindly write me a line giving their views of the same. The question is, 'How to abolish poverty?' The answer is, 'The single tax will do it.' Let justice be done though the heavens fall." The Academy Herald, in acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Frey's present, says: "The object of the book is certainly praiseworthy and the spirit and tone of the book commend it to all thinkers whether its conclusions are accepted or not."

A. D. Cridge of Jan Jose, Cal., lately delivered a lecture before the single tax society of San Francisco on "The Bible, the Church and the Land Question," showing by quotations from the bible that Henry George's theory is the true one.

SOME FOREIGN ITEMS.

A new paper has been started in Paris with the title "Disarmament," its avowed object being to combat the increasing militarism of Europe. In other words, to resist the growth and to create a sentiment in favor of the reduction of those vast standing armies. William E. Gladstone and Emilio Castelar, the famous Spanish liberal, have encouraged the enterprise by sending letters of sympathy with its object.

It begins to look as if a great international radical congress would be held in Paris this summer during the exposition. A number of English radical clubs have been arranging a combined excursion, tickets to be paid for on the instalment plan. There will probably be large representations from the other European countries.

One of the best known protectionist advocates of Great Britain, Mr. Chaplin, has recently abandoned his position on that question. He says that he does not think the agricultural interests can be benefited by protection, and even if they could he does not think it would be possible to convince the country of the fact. James Lowther, the twin champion of protection, takes the same line.

Southport, a little English town, the land of which is entirely owned by two proprietors, has increased in population from 4,766 in 1851 to 37,200 in 1887. Mr. Ellis, the town clerk, recently declared before the town holdings committee that the householders had spent £613,000 in improving and beautifying the town during the last twenty-one years; while the landlords had contributed not a penny of the amount; and in the meantime, the value of the landlords' property had increased forty fold.

The number of emigrants from Germany in 1888 was almost an even 100,000.

A pamphlet has been issued from the Democrat office, London, with the title "Henry George in London and Liverpool." It contains the speeches lately delivered by Henry George at crowded meetings held at the Lambeth baths, London, and in the Rotunda hall, Liverpool, under the auspices of the Financial reform association. The price of the pamphlet is one penny.

The spacious Buckingham palace in London is used by her majesty Victoria only two or three days in a year, and she has two other palaces in London. It has been suggested that the other two might suffice for the empress-queen, and that Buckingham palace will make an admirable people's palace, on the Rice-Besant plan.

In a speech on the Irish question delivered in the House of Commons just after Pigott's confession, John Morley read some statements from a newspaper. Balfour asked him to give the name of the paper. Morley said it was the Freeman's Journal, whereupon the Tories began to jeer. Morley then added, "Perhaps the information would have been better received had I read from the Times," and the jeers ceased.

A striking example of what a workmen's club may become by the zealous activity of one or two members is afforded by the success of the Artisans' radical club, in St. George's-in-the-East. This club has had only a brief existence. When the members started they were only able to afford to burn candles. So greatly has the membership increased that they have been obliged to take new and expensive premises, formerly occupied by a tory club. They have, besides, purchased the fixtures and two billiard tables. When it is remembered that the members of the club are, for the most part, workers who have to do hard manual labor about the docks and the river, this will appear truly astounding progress. The club is very active in political matters, and it is expected that in its new home it will receive a large accession of members.—[Reynolds's Weekly.]

There are twenty cotton factories now in operation in Japan, with a total of 82,680 spindles. There are also twenty factories in process of establishment or extension, with an

estimated capacity of 180,680 spindles. India too, is extending its cotton manufactures at an extraordinary rate.

The women of Denmark have sent a petition to the president of the Riksdag, signed by 20,000 of their number, demanding universal suffrage. Fourteen thousand of the signatures are those of married women. A "social and political" school for women has also recently been opened at Copenhagen, where contemporary history, constitutional and moral law, and psychology are taught.

The Rev. J. Le M. Shallis, the vicar of Burgess Hill, Sussex, England, has recognized that the brain cannot be nourished on an empty stomach, and he has entered enthusiastically into the movement to give free dinners to the poorer children attending the board school in his parish. The children, however, have to obtain certain good marks for regular attendance before they are entitled to a free dinner ticket. A marked increase in the regular attendance of the scholars has taken place.—[Pall Mall Gazette.]

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